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THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON VIETNAM

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NEWS & VIEWS

Eamon de Valera

Back in the late 1940s, when I was a student at Trinity College, Dublin, I used to camp on the steps of the National Library when the Dail, the Irish Parliament, was in session to watch a personal hero come and go.

He was Eamon de Valera, then between the first and second of his three reigns as Ireland's prime minister, but of course still active in Dail politics as leader of the Fianna Fail party. He would arrive and leave in a chauffeur-driven car, seated bolt upright in the rear seat, his head seemingly pressed against the roof. He looked to neither side. From behind the iron-spike fence that separated the National Library from the Dail grounds one glimpsed the profile of a man who in his lifetime had become as legendary as Brian Boru.

In 1957, I was back in Ireland—passing through, actually—and as a professional journalist managed to secure an interview with de Valera, once again Ireland's prime minister. Nothing notable came out of that meeting. In interviews, as in public addresses, de Valera often managed to convey more in the way of impressions than he ever did information. It was the nature of the man, but also the nature of Ireland. Ireland doesn't make big news. Its geographical positioning on the fringes of Europe has forever condemned it, it seems, to the fringes of international importance. This is no less true today, when a mini-civil

war exists between North and South over the Partition of the country.

De Valera spoke about Partition during our meeting, holding that the solution to a divided Ireland resided with the UN. Ireland's policy, he said, would be to proceed prudently and slowly, and to avoid the mistakes connected with Ireland's association with the Council of Europe. Earlier, Ireland had indiscreetly announced that its prime interest in the Council was to secure an end to Partition through the Council's machinery, an objective that struck Council members negatively. It conveyed the idea, de Valera remarked, that Ireland doesn't care about the rest of Europe—all it is concerned about is itself.

The UN approach would be more sophisticated and, de Valera expected, more successful.

This, remember, was back in the days when exalted hopes could be invested in the UN.

For de Valera and Ireland, as for the rest of the world, it was only a momentary phase. Partition never made it to the UN floor, at least not in a serious way; the UN's sails were trimmed; and in a decade's time it was back to guns and bombs in Ireland, with much of the world continuing to look the other way—to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the Third World. It sometimes seems Ireland could sink into the sea tomorrow and only travel agents would wring their hands mightily.

Thus, little information resulted from my interview, and nothing cosmic by way of historical development on de Valera's UN expectation. But the impressions were multiple and memorable. They remain strong—of a man extremely reserved, modest in his tastes (his office was sparse and without adornments), proud and devout.

Even then de Valera was virtually blind, a handicap he sought carefully to conceal. The phone rang, and though only a foot from his elbow, de Valera had trouble locating it. The call was from a priest at Blackrock College, whom de Valera thanked for the Masses offered on his 75th birthday, two days before. The phone conversation shifted to rugby, and de Valera chatted animatedly about the Blackrock rugby team's showing in Rome shortly before. Keenness for rugby, an English sport, was perhaps de Valera's sole departure from a strict Irish nationalism and it was a departure nowhere near so frivolous as some might think, given the fervor of the Gaelic Athletic Association and its politicizing of Irish sports.

In leaving de Valera's office, I spoke what seems now like ingratiating flattery, but what was simple fact for one of my background. "Where I come from, Eamon de Valera is practically beatified," said I. "Don't forget, every candidate for beatification has his devil's advocate," de Valera responded, "and I have a great share of them."

He did, of course. But he survived them and their criticism, and long before his death on Aug. 29 he was established as the symbol of modern Ireland. He died at 92; he lives for Irish history.

L.B.J. Remembered

A recent witness before the Senate Budget Committee had the temerity to recall Lyndon Johnson's favorite quote about reasoning together (Isaiah, 1-18), then, lo and behold, to add the rest of the passage:

"Come now, let us reason together, says the Lord: though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they are red like crimson, they shall become like wool. If you are willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land; but if you refuse and rebel, you shall be devoured by the sword; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken."

"He was a good friend of mine," said the witness of L.B.J., "so I want this taken in the spirit rendered. . . ."

As epitaph, maybe?

Vetspeak

Some retiring military personnel, says the *Washington Post*, are receiving a Department of Defense brochure explaining how to draw up a résumé for job-hunting.

An example offered is the resumé of a Navy aviator who flew missions in Southeast Asia.The aviator's bombing activities are described this way: ". . . located profitable areas for the concentration of resources."

One is reminded of CIA-speak ("termination without prejudice" for murder; "destabilization" for the overthrow of a government); of Ziespeak ("inoperative" for incorrect; "misspoke" for lying); of Nixspeak (almost everything R.M.N. uttered).

1984, as they say, is nine years off, and gaining.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Liberal Wallace?

Milwaukee, Wisc.

To the Editors: Sisyphus' comments about the need for a "liberal George Wallace" in your July 18, 1975 issue was an unexpected piece of horse sense in the liberal Catholic press. I do not think it will touch off a spate of "blue collar chic" among liberals since that would offend the elitism which makes liberalism fun.

The reluctance of standard liberals to pay attention to and reassess the mood and constructive efforts of urban working-class neighborhoods is leaving them behind in the realistic search for honest solutions to urban problems. Not very many large and middle-sized cities are without their home-grown community organization which has seized issues which most politicians will not touch: redlining, failure of urban education, street crime, deceptive marketing practices, urban planning mistakes, property tax absurdities, etc. Yet much of the liberal press ignores these efforts or minimizes their importance. As the Assistant News Director of a large television station said to one group here, "What does a bunch of priests and housewives know about the city . . . ?"

Ralph Nader recently charged that the news media generally ignores the political activities of neighborhood people: housewives, the retired, clergymen, The fascination of the press with every trifling comment from City Hall or Washington has blinded it to a genuine revolution happening in its midst. The *liberal George Wallace* which Sisyphus calls for is happening, not in the person of one man or woman, but corporately in the coalitions of white, ethnic, and black organizations. The functional integration of people working on the same problems is twenty times more valuable than the abstraction of integration pursued in the editorial columns of liberal newspapers or in liberal legislation.

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CANDIDATE FORD

The presidential race is more than a year away, but President Ford is already off and running hard, and apparently not even an assassination attempt is going to be allowed to cut down on his campaigning. Mr. Ford may shift ground as he goes along, but so far his basic theme is clear: the assertion that the federal government's role is primarily in the area of national defense and that its part should be minimized or eliminated in all others. As he pledged to an audience of hardware merchants in the midwest, his aim is to "get the federal government out of your business, out of your lives, out of your pockets and out of your hair." If such statements simply meant a desire to cut excessive bureaucratic interference, no one could reasonably object. But as speech after speech makes plain, Mr. Ford hankers after the pre-New Deal days when any substantial governmental role in economic life was rejected out of hand. It is hard to believe in this day and age, but Mr. Ford seems committed to seek a full four-year term on a tired old platform of *laissez faire*. With the nation perhaps just beginning to emerge from a serious recession and with unemployment still at a distressingly high rate, it seems an incredible game plan, but Mr. Ford has sounded the same note over and over again. Why he is doing it, though, is the question. Mr. Ford can bring the hardware merchants to their feet whistling and applauding with a promise to "cut big government down to size," but those out of work and those worried about their jobs far outnumber the hardware sellers, and they are unlikely to vote for a do-nothing President. Why then is Gerald Ford taking the line he is?

Some argue that Mr. Ford is following the conservative road in order to undercut Ronald Reagan's appeal to GOP conservatives. Once he gets the nomination locked up, this thesis goes, the President will moderate his Adam Smith line and make an appeal to voters outside the Republican party's right wing. This seems to be the analysis of the moderate Republican Senators who warned Mr. Ford that the conservative tone of his recent utterances could win him his party's nomination but cost him the electoral votes of

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crucial industrial states next year. "There was a feeling in our group," said one, "that the President is secure in his efforts to get the nomination, and does not have to move too far to the right."

President Ford is creating a highly conservative image now, they fear, which will be hard to shake after his nomination is assured by what is, after all, a minority party. This could ruin Mr. Ford's chances in their states, the GOP moderates told him, and they reminded him that they represented a total of 187 out of the 270 electoral votes needed to win the presidency. Mr. Ford should consider these states, said the Republican moderates, rather than aim his campaign at small states with very conservative views. Indeed, in his recent addresses, said Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, Mr. Ford has not been doing justice to his own "compassionate nature." No one expects Mr. Ford to alter his basic views, it was emphasized, but he should try to relate his views to citizens who have not embraced traditional Republican conservatism. "It's a matter of emphasis," Senator Case said after seeing the President. "To a great degree, this is what campaigning is all about."

Senator Case is no doubt at least partially right; emphasis is important in a campaign. To the basic question of what Mr. Ford really stands for, however, there can really be very little doubt, at least in the minds of those who look at his long and consistent record in the House of Representatives. Mr. Ford may have a compassionate nature, but when he calls for a governmental retreat in every area except military spending, the record indicates that this is not just a question of emphasis; he speaks from the heart. In the light of all this, there is an inescapable note of irony in the GOP choice for its convention of Kansas City, a town where they last met in 1928 when they nominated Herbert Hoover. Some people just aren't afraid of historical parallels at all.

COMING

HERBERT LONDON reports on a controversy over sex education in the school:

"Sometime in the middle of March, a middle-aged teacher showed four of his applied biology classes (no one could give me a satisfactory explanation of *applied* biology) a filmstrip called 'Lovemaking.' From that time on, the school, some of its students, the local community, the Board of Education, the curriculum, the District Attorney, and the teacher in question have all been deeply, irreparably affected by what has become a *cause célèbre*. As is often the case in controversies, there are two very different but plausible interpretations of the incident."

END OF AN ERA

THE DEATH OF DE VALERA

The death of Eamon de Valera, the outstanding Irish nationalist leader of the twentieth century and modern Ireland's most internationally renowned statesman, came peacefully in Dublin at the end of August in his 93rd year. But even in death this most controversial of Irishmen showed the powerful influence he held over the minds and hearts of the Irish people by rekindling in them the deep emotions of adulation and hatred that have surrounded him in his lifetime. Yet, such was his undoubted stature as the father of the Irish Republic that even bitter critics united with fervent followers in according him homage at a state funeral in Dublin.

Tributes which poured into Dublin from all parts of the world gave testimony to his status as a figure of the caliber of a De Gaulle or a Churchill. This was summed up most succinctly by the present President of the Republic, Mr. O'Dalaigh, who said in a radio broadcast: "Throughout the world, and, in particular, among people striving to be free, his name has been a synonym for the struggle for Irish independence." No less sincerely but much less favorably an old political opponent of De Valera and a former Prime Minister, Mr. John A. Costello, broadcast that in his opinion De Valera's influence on Ireland had come to an end and that he had left nothing of permanent value.

Such divided assessment no doubt will provide historians with tortuous terrain for decades to come, but all will concur with the judgment of Mr. Jack Lynch, former prime minister and present leader of the Fianna Fail party founded by Mr. De Valera, that "Dev" ranks among the greatest of all Irishmen. However, the limitations of that greatness will become more apparent as Ireland moves further and further away from the agricultural Catholic and Gaelic country dreamed of by De Valera.

Although born in New York, De Valera was brought up and educated in Ireland where he became imbued with a fanatical desire to work for Ireland's national independence from Britain. That commitment, at the cost of much personal and domestic hardship, shaped his own career away from the peaceful routine of a teacher of mathematics to the turbulent vicissitudes of life as soldier,

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prisoner and politician. In turn, he became a formidable commandant in the 1916 Easter Rising and a reprieved hero, the leader of resurgent Sinn Fein and the President of the 1918-21 Republic.

From such early eminence his career went into agonizing eclipse as he led the defeated republican opposition in the Civil War against the Treaty with the Lloyd George Government which set up the South as a Free State but a State associated with the British Empire. His re-emergence came with the establishment of his political party, Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny) and that party's subsequent hair-splitting acceptance of the oath of allegiance to the British crown as a condition for entry into the Irish Parliament. This maneuver enabled Fianna Fail and De Valera to ensure the consolidation of parliamentary democracy in the newly established State while continuing to peacefully work towards the establishment of a Republic. As a revolutionary gunman turned politician, De Valera was to be head of Government for a total of 21 years and to be President, the honorary head of the Irish Republic, for 14 years. In that period in Ireland he always remained a figure of controversy—a political leader who never won the support of more than 50 percent of the Irish people. The controversy stemmed from his rejection of the Treaty. Opponents felt that De Valera should have gone to London for the negotiations with the Lloyd George Government rather than staying in Dublin and subsequently opposing the terms. They blamed him for the Civil War, although he maintained that the negotiators had not, as they should have, consulted him in Dublin prior to signing any agreement.

Later, he was to alienate former colleagues who remained attached to the use of force through the IRA by invoking state power to imprison and, where necessary, execute. He did so, however, with much heart-searching, but he had become convinced of the sovereignty of parliament. To his credit must also be listed his work to ensure the independence of the Irish judiciary and the integrity of the institutions of the Irish State.

Abroad, he became the personification of Ireland. He was applauded by nations as the man who freed Ireland from Britain after 700 years of oppression and started the decline of the British Empire. As president of the Council of the League of Nations, he gave Ireland a voice in international affairs, gaining respect for his denunciations of Japanese aggression against Manchuria and of Italy's invasion of Abyssinia. When World War II broke out he kept the Irish Republic neutral despite constant pressures from Britain, the United States and Germany. Today many commentators regard his neutrality as his most skillful diplomatic achievement.

In 1964—some 45 years after his failure to gain American recognition from Woodrow Wilson of Irish independence from Britain—De Valera experienced the personal triumph of receiving the key of the freedom of the city of Washington and of hearing the speaker welcome him in Congress as the head of a "sovereign, independent State." A year earlier he had rejoiced in welcoming to Ireland President Kennedy as the fulfillment of the Irish dream in the United States.

Unfortunately, his own vision of Ireland was that of a rural Irish-speaking nation. He lacked a social philosophy; the revolutionary was a Tory. The transformation of the Irish economy and the steps towards industrialization were to come with his successor, Mr. Sean Lemass. Ireland's entry into the European Economic Community in 1972 further pushed Ireland away from the austerity of the De Valera period. In a real sense, the De Valera age ended in 1969 when he swapped the prime ministership for the titular post of president.

There is no escaping the fact also that despite his achievement in establishing the Republic of Ireland as an independent democratic State, he failed to achieve his two basic objectives of restoring the Irish language and of uniting the North and South of the country. Ironically, a few weeks prior to his death a leaked report in the *Irish Times* revealed that an Irish Government-sponsored survey had shown that the number of fluent speakers in the Irish language had declined and was now less than 6 percent of the population. English and American commercial imperialism had proved too potent for the survival of the Irish language as the norm of conversation. In this failure De Valera was powerless against trends set in motion since even before the days of Daniel O'Connell, but his concept of the language was a component of nationalism characteristic of a distinctively nineteenth century mentality.

Ironically too his death came at a time when Northern Ireland struggled to avoid open civil war between Catholic and Protestant, between the Provisional IRA and the militant Protestant organizations. The strength of the Loyalist opposition to absorption into the Republic has remained strong over that 50-year period, showing that De Valera's anti-British stand was too simplistic, overlooking the fact that a proportion of Irishmen wanted nothing to do with a republic. Even although De Valera in his maturity recognized that the North could not be united to the South by force, his leadership in the South through such moves as creating the socio-religiously conservative 1937 constitution and through neutrality in World War II deepened the division between the two parts of Ireland.

Since the outbreak of the present violence in 1969 politicians in the Republic have continued to pay lip-service to the long-term objective of national unity, but have failed notably to make constitutional changes (apart from the gesture of removing the article relating to the special position of the Catholic Church) to change the Republic from its confessional character

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to a pluralist state. However slow-moving the politicians on both sides of the border continue to be, it may be that the only way for peace to be established throughout the island will come through a rejection of both loyalist hegemony and De Valerian nationalism, with a return to Wolfe Tone's idea of nationalist brotherhood uniting Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

JOHN COONEY

(*John Cooney is* Commonweal's *regular correspondent in Ireland.*)

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THE VIEW FROM DETROIT

LIBERATION AND THEOLOGY

The conference "Theology in the Americas: 1975" began on a warm August evening in Detroit. It was to last a solid week: August 17-23. Looking at the crowd of arrivals, one could spot a sprinkling of familiar faces from theology and social ethics. But much more noticeable were the Blacks, the Chicanos, the women, and of course the Latin Americans (who were to give the conference its special thrust as a "theology of liberation"). One participant commented: "With this mix, the conference should either explode into bits or be a spectacular success." He was wrong. The conference itself came to mirror the reality of the struggle which was talked about incessantly. Tensions of all kinds cropped up: Blacks versus Latin Americans, women versus male Chicanos and Latin Americans, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos versus Blacks, and most significantly, all of these increasingly against the dominant white male middle-class. Agreement even on the *nature* of oppression, much less its cure, became painfully difficult. Yet in the end the effort to span differences, to forge alliances, prevailed more and more.

In some ways, the very event of the conference was itself the result of a liberating process. The conference was the brainchild of Sergio Torres, a Chilean priest. Torres had been deeply influenced by the meeting, *Christianos por socialismo* (Christians for Socialism) held in Santiago during the spring of 1972. In church circles, this conference was something of an opening to the left, signaling as it did a willingness to incorporate Marxian analysis into theological reflection. Torres is no longer welcome in his native Chile, but his very exile made him anxious to have South American theologians enter into dialogue with North Americans. The idea was to set up a genuine working exchange: Participation would be by invitation only. North Americans would be asked on the basis of their theological expertise. The very best among Latin American theologians were quickly lined up, including Gustavo Gutierrez, Juan Luis Segundo, and Jose Miguez-Bonino. Altogether one might have expected a cozy group of perhaps fifty scholars. And it was relatively easy to get sponsors for the event, notably the National Council of Churches and the United States Catholic Conference.

Yet the very meaning of the theology of liberation tended to alter such a simple program. An uncontested tenet of liberation theology, drawn from Marxian theory, is that *praxis* takes precedence over theory. Roughly translated, this means simply that theory must be drawn from life (particularly that part of life which is the struggle for liberation), and not vice versa. So it became easy to challenge a conference in which all discussion appeared to be on a theoretical plane, even if some of that theory (the Latin American) had as one of its sources the experience of revolutionary struggle. Blacks and women demanded significant roles in the conference. Reflection groups were set up across the United States, and all participating theologians were asked to become part of some group. Eventually, about sixty groups were meeting. They ranged in composition from an all-clerical group in Brooklyn to a Black-White mix in Durham, North Carolina to a large representation from an entire neighborhood (mostly Chicano) in Las Vegas. The invitation lists were broadened significantly to include representatives from all these groups. At the same time, the organizers began to recognize the need for social scientists from the United States.

Thus when the conference on liberation theology actually convened, there was a working group of about two hundred. The tenor of the conference, however, was now very different. Groups involved in liberation definitely intended to speak; theologians had little choice but to listen. Fortunately, almost all of them found this somewhat unaccustomed posture a liberating one.

While often interesting, the various papers read in Detroit were by no means the most impressive aspect of the conference. For example, the first day was given over entirely to various Latin American theologians and social scientists. As papers and addresses go, most of these were extraordinarily good. The theme of liberation provided an overall unity, and this theme took on a whole assortment of nuances as it was approached first biblically, then sociologically; now from the macroscopic point of view of geo-history, now on the concrete level of actual concrete communities in Uruguay or Panama or wherever. What really came through, however, was the commitment and vitality of these Latin Americans: Chilean ministers and priests without a country; social scientists well aware that they are charting new terrain,

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far removed from the value-free data of much sociological work; theologians in direct contact with tenuous movements for radical social change (where the odds strongly favor repression). One of the most notable "events" of this first day was in fact the conspicuous absence of Gustavo Gutierrez (author of the well-received *Theology of Liberation*). Perhaps the most well-known theologian in Latin America today and certainly the most important Peruvian, he was unexpectedly detained in that country as it apparently slipped close to a right-wing takeover. As one speaker noted, his absence was more instructive than any address he might have given. And when he did arrive on Friday, his emotional identification with Blacks, Chicanos and women in the United States became symbolic of the liberation about which all were talking.

The very organization of the conference clearly placed process before content. Everyone met in small "communities" as well as *en masse* in plenary sessions. Even the more featured speakers strove to communicate the experience of oppression as well as analyses of that oppression. Significantly, the only attempt to draw up a genuine North American liberation theology ended in dismal failure. Frederick Herzog made a valiant attempt from the Protestant side, but his Barthian approach could not match the Latin Americans' more Marxian analyses for actual *contact* with liberation processes. The whole effort was received with reserve and even anger by Blacks, Chicanos, women, etc. Apparently, one does liberation theology at his/her own risk; if one is going to describe the oppression of another, he/she had better get it right. On the Catholic side, no attempt to theologize was made at all. There were only some rather unsatisfying references to possible liberation themes in such historical Catholic personages as Orestes Brownson, John A. Ryan and John Courtney Murray. Thus one of the clearest conclusions of this conference was that it is *not* possible now to construct a general theology of liberation for the United States; that we must for the indefinite future struggle with a variety of particular theologies which reflect the particular struggles experienced by various groups in the United States.

This conference was rich in vignettes. Examples: Herbert Edwards of Duke evangelically expressing Black anger, disappointment, and, strikingly, Black hope. For centuries, Blacks have looked forward to Sunday, *not* for religious reasons, but because it was a day when they were truly free of the "boss." Now they envision a time when *every* day will be Sunday. Michelle Russell, a young Angela Davis-like sociologist, giving a brilliant, slashing, yet compassionate exposition of racism and sexism which brings the whole conference to its feet. Three American Indians (including a nun in full habit) explaining softly the no-exit situation of many native Americans. Rosemary Ruether, part of a circle of ten women, patiently waiting her turn in the communal and conversational presentation of feminist theology. Juan Luis Segundo, listening attentively for hours, trying to catch the difference between liberation here and in Latin America.

The significance? Hard to say. Participants were virtually unanimous in asserting that the struggles of oppressed peoples for liberation were indeed fertile ground for a new theology. They were almost as unanimous in believing that the task of constructing such a theology had hardly begun. All acknowledged the interrelatedness of class oppression, racism and sexism, but few felt satisfied with any existing explanation of that interrelatedness. To paraphrase the Latin American theologian, Segundo: perhaps it is enough now that theologians themselves are becoming liberated—precisely through their contact with those on the margins of our society.

KENNETH J. AMAN

(Kenneth J. Aman teaches political philosophy and the philosophy of religion at Montclair State College in New Jersey.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

MINUTES OF THE MEETING

There is a phase in the passage of a piece of legislation, a bill, that is known in the Congress as a "mark-up." This is an occasion when members of a legislative committee sit down together after hearings on the bill and decide whether the bill should be altered. Should it be completely rewritten and then be reported (forwarded) as a "clean" bill to the "full body," that is the House of Representatives or the Senate, as the case may be? Or should the bill, on which testimony has been taken, be simply altered? And, if so, which existing provisions should be retained "as is," which existing provisions should be "dropped" (deleted) and should "new language" (provisions) be added?

Of the several hundred bills, among the thousands introduced, that are actually reported during the two-year life of a Congress to either the full House or Senate, relatively few substantive changes are made. Some of these bills are passed by voice vote when only a few members are present in either the House or Senate. A major tax bill is one such category of legislation that receives considerable going-over within the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate

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Finance Committee, usually identified in the newspapers as "the tax-writing committees." Major pieces of social legislation customarily also undergo considerable revision —civil rights, social security and health care bills, for example. These days the energy problem is a major legislative concern. Bills designed to help matters in this area are receiving considerable going over in the mark-up sessions.

In June of this year, the House passed a bill, H.R. 6860, designed to encourage the best utilization of energy and, conversely, to discourage wasteful or extravagant usage. Because the bill sought to accomplish this objective by means of tax-credits ("tax-breaks") for an assortment of actions, the bill, when it came to the Senate from the House, was assigned to the Finance Committee. During discussions in the "mark-up" in the Finance Committee, its members agreed to include in the House-passed bill tax-credits for businessmen and home-owners who would install better insulation or install alternate energy usage such as solar-heating equipment or install recycling equipment for materials such as paper, etc.

Until recently, "mark-up" sessions of a committee have been held in executive session. But reformers, members of Congress and non-members alike, have for a long time pointed a finger at mark-up sessions as one place where the real action is, more meaningful as to the shaping of a bill than the open committee hearings where testimony of witnesses is taken. ("The conference"—meeting of House and Senate members in an effort to work out a mutually acceptable version of a bill approved in differing forms by the two branches of the Congress—is a crucial legislative arena still darkened and in need of "sunshine.") Support for opening the doors and letting the sun shine in has now resulted in mark-up sessions being held in public. A majority of a legislative committee, depending on the rules of each, may vote either to close or open a mark-up session, but a more alert informed public, in part due to Common Cause-ers, has resulted in a reluctance to hold closed mark-ups.

And this brings us back to mark-up sessions of the Finance Committee as its members recently discussed the House-passed energy bill. A motion was made to close the doors but it had failed. And, consequently, the David Harums of the Committee, including its capable chairman, Senator Long of Louisiana, found themselves doing business in public—accepting, contesting, rejecting amendments and language changes. In the course of these open mark-ups, outsiders attending got a feel and a whiff of what had been going on all these years during mark-ups behind closed doors, The discussions in public give a sense of the legislative process that is absent from the learned who vainly seek to make a "science" out of politics:

As reported, several of the exchanges are instructive:

1. (in context of whether to make the mark-up a closed meeting) Senator Brock (R-Tenn.)—I don't want to drive these meetings behind closed doors. There are lobbyists (present) on both sides of an issue—for example, Common Cause people.

Senator Dole (R-Kan.)—People have a right to see what we've done. Someone is laughing in the back row. I assume that's someone we've just shot down.

Senator Mondale (D-Minn.)—Maybe we should obtain a list of subscribers to the *Wall Street Journal*, broken down by state, so as to see what special interests they represent . . .

2. Senator Nelson (D-Wis.)—In my absence the Committee adopted a tax break for railroads, but omitted railroad over-water ferries—such as one operating in Wisconsin.

Senator Long, chairman, bantering—Well, Gaylord (Nelson), I'll be happy to give you that one, but I'll expect you to exchange that for your support for the next tax credit we're about to discuss . . .

3. During discussion of a tax-break for those replacing inefficient residential furnaces, Senator Mondale—We should also give a credit for installing home thermostats.

Senator Brock—Can't we leave anything to the market mechanism?

Senator Gravel (D-Alaska)—So what? We've been distorting the market mechanism all day yesterday with all the other tax credits.

Senator Brock—You're not going to help the homeowner if he doesn't have $1500 to buy a new furnace. He won't buy one, regardless of any tax credit.

Senator Dole—What about those too poor to pay taxes?

Senator Long—Let's make this a refundable tax credit (If a person pays no taxes, he still gets a payment from the Federal Government if he installs an efficient furnace).

Senator Dole—We've given away an awful lot of money here with tax credits and refundable tax credits. Are we going to raise any revenue?

4. Senator Long—Floyd (Senator Haskell, D-Colo.) has never yet voted for an investment credit. Someday he'll perhaps decide that because everyone else is getting one, he'll vote for one for some group in Colorado.

Senator Haskell—That's the problem. We gave a tax credit yesterday to slurry pipelines, but they compete strongly with railroads. So today we have to give another credit to railroads.

5. Senator Long—If you took away the depletion allowance for virgin materials there'd be the greatest depression ever seen. So we should give a corresponding tax break to recyclers.

Senator Haskell—What we're saying is one good loophole deserves another.

David Harums just whittlin' away. SISYPHUS

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THE WISDOM OF THE COLUMNIST

PETER STEINFELS

Having decided to return to the business of writing a column, I immediately began to break out in scruples. Was I qualified for such a weighty public trust? After all, when I last wrote regularly, Nixon was president. Standards, like prices, have gone up.

Slipping a jacket (as best I could) over shoulders already slumped beneath the burden of responsibility, I betook myself to the chief, elder, high eminence, and *doyen* of periodical oracles, thousand-words-or-under division—Richard Allpufft. He greeted me with the firm handclasp which had greeted so many world leaders. I peeked under his green eyeshade at the brows which had knit over so many world problems. "Sir," said I, "Am I ready? Can I do it? Will I measure up?"

"Tell me, son," answered Allpufft, "what is your education?" There was something about the way he put that question which struck me as paternal.

"Four years of high school, sir, two of college. Couldn't decide whether to major in business administration or art history, so I dropped out and inherited the family fortune. I also spent two summers working in a Wisconsin fish hatchery, and the last fourteen years reading every issue of *Time, Newsweek*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*."

"Perfect, my son, perfect." Allpufft knit his brows. It left me breathless.

"Writing a column is not easy," he began. I awaited eagerly the forceful insights distilled from long years of observing the affairs of nations. "The world is complicated," he said, "things are never black and white."

"You mean they often appear in many shades of grey," I interjected.

"Exactly," said Allpufft. "Above all we must beware of simple-minded solutions. The world is full of *terribles simplificatures*. Jacob Burckhardt, the pessimistic and prophetic Swiss historian, pointed that out over a century ago. Or was it Alexis de Tocqueville, the pessimistic and prophetic French political thinker?

The fate of modern man is interdependence—don't ever forget that, young man. We must all live together or we will all hang together. This is a spaceship earth."

"A remarkable image," I murmured.

"Yes," said Allpufft. "The astronauts tell us the globe looks very small from out in space. But the great divide today is no longer between East and West. It is between North and South. We cannot stand by while half the world starves."

"In other words," I added, "while the rich get richer and the poor poorer."

"That's right. On the other hand, we cannot allow a small group of nations to blackmail us over energy supplies. Oil is the lifeblood of modern industrial society."

"The Middle East?" I asked hesitantly.

"The Middle East is a tinderbox," replied Allpufft without a moment's pause. "We must have détente, of course, but détente must be meaningful."

"With give and take on both sides, I suppose."

"You have talent, lad, talent." An encouraging smile flitted across Allpufft's lined features. He quickly knitted his brows once more.

"The economic situation is the big question mark. We are suffering from an unusual combination of inflation and unemployment which has stumped the best economic minds in the world. The American people are taking a beating, but they aren't whining. And they don't want tampering with their free enterprise economic system. Look at Britain."

"Indeed," I said. "Look at Britain. Look at Italy, too, and Bangladesh. We might as well look at the Soviet Union while we're at it."

"Absolutely," said Allpufft. "Why we couldn't even have this conversation if we were in Moscow. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who is a modern Dostoyevsky, has pointed that out. Détente, you know, must be meaningful."

"With give and take on both sides."

For a moment Allpufft appeared disconcerted. I wondered if I had said the wrong thing. But he plunged on:

"Watergate shook the confidence of the American people in their leaders but not in their basic institutions. They are tired of intellectuals who keep harping on the nation's faults. True, the war in Vietnam was a great tragedy, but we should not forget that the U.S. became involved out of the best motives. No nation has been more benevolent than ours, and we have nothing to be ashamed of. Look at Germany, look at Japan, look at Korea. There's something masochistic about all this washing of dirty linen in public."

"You mean the CIA?"

"The CIA, the FBI"—I had never seen brows knit so magnificently—"we're not playing patty-cake, you know. This is hardball, and the other side doesn't follow the Marquis of Queensberry. Look at Portugal. Besides, without a superior intelligence service, America would be a blind and deaf giant. Look at the Middle East."

"It's a tinderbox," I said.

"The era of great world leaders is over," continued Allpufft. "Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, De Gaulle, Adenauer —they're all gone, you know."

"Yes," I whispered. Allpufft suddenly looked tired, lonely.

"Mao's still around," he mused. "And Franco." He brightened. "Now Kennedy might have been a statesman of stature, but his promise was cut short. Johnson was a genuine populist, but the country wasn't ready for a Souther-

(Continued on page 447)

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THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON VIETNAM

TISSA BALASURIYA

The Church's ideological orientation was always to the right

The end of the war in Vietnam and the complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Cambodia and Vietnam along with the establishment of the PRG in Saigon and the Khmer Rouge in Phnom Penh has completely altered the position of the Church in these countries. Up to the final stages of the war a large section of Catholics including the leadership was in favor of the now-defeated governments. In fact the Church establishment was very much dependent on foreign personnel and funds. Its ideological orientation, too, was right-wing.

The Church in Indochina has not been adequately critical of the evils of western colonialism and neo-colonialism. It has had a pronounced fear of Communism. The influx of 700,000 to 800,000 refugees from the North after the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, and Ho Chi Minh had established the independent regime of North Vietnam, made the Church of South Vietnam even more conservative. The main raison d'être of the Catholic refugees was their conviction of the incompatibility of Christianity with the Marxist regime of the North plus their fear that their lives were insecure under that regime. During the past 20 years, in spite of the advance of the Viet Cong, the Church in South Vietnam substantially maintained its anti-Communist posture. In the late nineteen-sixties there were a few Catholics, priests and lay people, who proposed a more conciliatory attitude for ending the war. These were branded Communists by the strong right-wing section of the Church including some of the foreign missionaries. Archbishop Binh of Saigon, however, took a conciliatory position towards them due to his kindly pastoral concern for all.

It is a pity that even in the 1960s and early '70s Christian reflection in Vietnam and elsewhere was not as a whole sufficiently aware of the problems of South Vietnam and Cambodia and was not vocal about them. Those who did speak were marginal groups. We might mention in this connection the whole neo-colonial approach to development: foreign investment being welcomed, safeguarded and guaranteed by the State; low wages paid to workers especially under emergency regulations; the banning of strikes; vast inequalities in wealth, income and power; corruption; large-scale provision for "Rest and Recreation"; corrupt militarism, the divorce of the rulers from the people; added to these the presence of the American advisors and soldiers; the large-scale and indiscriminate bombing of North and South Vietnam; the torture of political prisoners, etc. Gradually more and more people became alienated from this pattern of values. Yet we see the paradox of an explicit or implicit alliance between the Churches and this model of development and military activity. This however is not something new, for it is a continuation of the position the Churches have taken in spite of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. For many churchmen the evils of capitalism are minor compared to the danger of Communism.

The rapid change in these countries in March and April this year has placed the Christians in Indochina in a situation somewhat similar to what happened in China in 1949. About one hundred and eighty thousand Vietnamese refugees fled the country and we may presume that many of them were Christians. But now they are not so welcome in other countries where to a con-

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siderable extent opinion seems to be that the Vietnamese should settle their own affairs; and the new regime has not created the image of being intolerant.

The two million Catholics in South Vietnam are proportionately many more, being about 10 percent, than they were in China. The leadership of the Church is also indigenous. There are about 2,000 Vietnamese priests and 5,000 Vietnamese religious. The country's rulers have been Catholics. Marxism itself has changed considerably in its attitude towards religion since 1917 and 1949. The problem of the Christians is whether they can wholeheartedly cooperate in building up a new socialistic Vietnam under the leadership of a Marxist government. There could be a clash in their minds as to what they consider the national good and their understanding of the Christian faith. On the other hand the public authorities may also be skeptical about their loyalty to the new regime since they were among the most intransigent combatants against the North.

These Christians will probably go through the same problem which has been faced by Christians in this century in the USSR since 1917, in Eastern Europe after 1949, in China after 1949, in North Korea in the 1950s, North Vietnam from 1954 and Cuba in the 1960s. In all these instances they had little support from the outside Churches, except for a non-conciliatory attitude leading even to martyrdom. Very often even within the countries the leadership of the Churches was not quite ready to cooperate with the new regimes, particularly in the initial stages. In China the situation led to a sort of schism when the local Christians appointed bishops with the approval of the State without the blessing of Rome. The issue that is posed to us today is whether the entire Christian world can face this situation in a more enlightened manner without giving up the essentials of the faith and the safeguarding of human rights in difficult circumstances.

In this delicate situation the way in which the Vietnamese Christians may react to the regime and vice-versa can also depend to a great extent on the attitudes and reactions of Christians all over the world, especially in the western countries. If we Christians outside of Vietnam, do not consider the establishment of the PRG government of Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia as tragedies, but rather see in them potential signs of liberation, then the reaction of the Christians and of the governments of Vietnam and Cambodia will be greatly helped in their task of mutual understanding. The Vatican, especially the Holy Father, can play a very significant role in this connection. It should not be necessary for the Church now to wait for 50 years as in the case of Russia, 25 years China, 15 for Cuba, to see that new ways of Christian living can flourish in socialistic societies; or at least that the peoples of these countries can find a more just way of living under these regimes than in the past.

This is one of the greatest challenges to the Holy Father, who has proclaimed 1975 the Holy Year of reconciliation. The whole Christian world has to try to understand the positive values of the new way of life that is likely to be established in these countries. This, however, will require a radical rethinking of the concept of the Church and of its mission in a revolutionary world. Revolution is a regular phenomenon in our times. Profound changes are now taking place in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Portugal. This phenomenon of expanding socialization of life is likely to be one of the main features of the world in the next ten years. In order to understand these situations and relate to them creatively we have to revaluate our own theology—both speculative and practical. The teaching and attitude of

Pope John XXIII towards the European Communistic rulers and regimes can be a source of inspiration to all of us, including the bishops and the Pope.

In the light of what has happened in Indochina, we have to ask ourselves what meaning there was in the type of mission activities which were carried out earlier. What relevance did the presentation of the word of God in preaching and in catechesis have to the exploitation of the people—both by the local elite and the foreign powers?

Even if Christians were opposed to the immorality of public life, how strongly did they contest it? One of the first actions of the new regime was the cleaning up of the streets of Saigon which were infested with night clubs, that sprang up as a concomitant of this pattern of sect development. What meaning did the elitist schools run by Christian missions with great dedication have for the formation of youth within the situation of inequality and injustice? Likewise what was the adequacy of social services of a person-to-person nature, however necessary and good they were, to meet the total problem of a society which the liberation forces were contesting?

We must similarly question the theology of the Churches which formed a clergy, religious and laity in large measure incapable of reading the signs of the times and being not in sympathy with the anguish of the masses. We should further ask what is the role of foreign missionaries within such revolutionary situations; should

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they be so closely connected with foreign armed forces and the foreign cultural presence as some of them were in Indochina? In fact some of those who most strongly opposed the young Vietnamese Catholic pacifists were foreign missionaries who were strongly backed by money and had a sincere though questionable conviction of their mission to save Vietnam from Communism.

In this situation the Christian communities have to be prepared to learn from the historical situation in which they are placed. This requires preparedness to rethink the mission of the Church within socialistic societies and even see a providential role in these local Churches being left to look after their own affairs in every sense. Thus another segment of the Church is likely to be cut off from direct links with its institutional headquarters at the Vatican, from sources of financial assistance and the flow of personnel from older Churches. Can we see a positive meaning in this self-reliance enforced on the local native church which now has to take the initiative for finding solutions to its own problems without relying on an outside authority? Will not this give more chance for the faith to be incarnated in their countries? Should not the central authority of the Church be happy to encourage such self-reliance even in the choice of new bishops, instead of helping bring about situations of impasse as in China?

On the other hand it is to be hoped that these local Churches would have sufficient theological and spiritual stamina to participate in the building of a just society without falling victim to the temptation of being coopted by the regime. It is to be hoped that Rome will not push the local Churches to a point of uncompromise against change and that the government would not urge them to schism in order to be more national. A most difficult problem for the peoples of these countries will be the working out of genuine areas of human freedom and authentic living, given the socialistic trend towards totalitarianism and conformism. This problem has so far not been resolved in the socialistic countries. It is a sad reflection on the human limitations of socialism itself. The Christians, while helping to build socialism, can contribute to the furthering of human freedom by their witness to the ultimate values of truth, love, justice and sharing. Here a long struggle is before mankind as the modern methods of thought control and even physical torture are being used rather widely by governments of both the socialistic and the capitalistic blocs. Indochina with its religious traditions thus faces the task of humanizing Communism.

The experience of Indochina can also teach the universal Church, specially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that a new type of Christian living is called for, in which values of social justice, more than mere religious ritual, are honored. We must also be ready to generate a new type of priest and bishop who in socialistic societies would have to share in the task of economic productivity like the rest of the community instead of depending financially on the faithful. New forms of worship and learning of religion have to be thought of. The laity will have to be much more self-reliant and responsible for their religious and moral lives.

For those who are still within the free enterprise societies the liberation of Vietnam can also be a call to a rethinking of their own attitudes as Christians towards the capitalistic pattern of development, based on profit maximization and generally leading to vast inequalities between the haves and have-nots. The revolutionary changes are likely to continue in the Asian countries—in some places like Indochina by a complete overthrow of governments, in others as in West Asia by use of economic weapons for obtaining control over their national resources. The world crisis is likely to lead to an increase in the tempo of change. The challenge to Christian theology and to Asian religions is to understand these forces, to participate in the necessary struggle and to create the inner ethos for the rebuilding of our societies in a manner that human beings are respected and social injustices greatly reduced, if not largely eliminated.

All these considerations taken together really amount to the need for the Church to be reborn of the Gospel —to go back to Jesus Christ beyond the type of theologies, life styles, molds of authority which have been evolved to suit feudalistic and capitalistic societies. The situation also implies a chance for the Church in our countries to be truly Christian and genuinely Asian. It is a warning to all religious that the excruciating conditions in which the majority live under exploitation will sooner or later lead to radical revolutionary options by them. The present right-wing dictatorships of rulers like Suharto in Indonesia, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, Park Chung Hee in South Korea, Chiang Chung-Kuo in Taiwan, cannot stem this tide of revolutionary upsurge for long, for their solutions are not geared to long-term remedies of the ills of these countries. Even the more democratic societies of Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, and the socialistic democracies of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are enmeshed in deep troubles. If their approaches are not more radical and egalitarian, here too the masses will rise up in frustration and desperation against socio-economic systems which condemn them to hunger, malnutrition, ignorance and powerlessness.

How long will it take for Christians to learn this lesson of the history of our century? Why should it be that Marxists are almost the sole force who take these issues of justice so seriously as to combat injustice radically? Is it not time to rediscover the deep radicality of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and try to live it in practice

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before we are compelled to do so by the revolutionary tide of half-starved Asia? How many more lives must be sacrificed before the Christians in the affluent countries understand the demands of the ten commandments and beatitudes in our world of vulgar affluence and abject misery—and the latter causally linked to the former. May we have the grace to understand this call of our time, and thereby help fellow Christians in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Macao, Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau as they go through their agonizing reappraisals in the coming months.

Fortunately there are indications that the Church leadership in South Vietnam is giving a helpful direction to the people. Archbishop Phillipe Nguyen Kim Dien of Hue wrote a pastoral on 1st April 1975, a few days after the liberation of Hue, in which he thanked God for the final achievement of peace and urged Christians to cooperate in the rebuilding of the nation under the leadership of the P.R.G.

> In the midst of our joy and exuberance, it is now time to make ourselves ready to collaborate with all men of good will in order to reconstruct our native country which endured so much suffering and death. We shall do that under the leadership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in order to bring to all our compatriots freedom, wealth and happiness.
>
> Today more than ever, we must reinforce our national unity, our love for one another, and we must serve our people, help and assist them, and share with them food and clothing. We not only give what is superfluous to us, but share with them, with our people, what we have for our own need. This is true charity according to our Lord. By doing that, we only repeat what governments in the whole world are trying to do in a more and more efficient way. 'This is my commandment: love one another; I give you all my love' (John 15,12). Because of his love for us, our Lord died for our deliverance. Then what should impede us to prove our love for him and our love for our fellow man?
>
> We must be generous and forgive all the errors of the past. Let us erase the faults, suspicions and the feelings of hate; let us avoid occasions to create fear again in the people. (IDOC Bulletin No. 30-31—April-May 1975—page 3)

On April 19, 1975, Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh of Saigon wrote in a similar vein and called on Catholics "not to evacuate or to arm themselves, but to eagerly contribute their modest efforts to national reconciliation." Further, we have just learnt that the 200 bishops and priests have met revolutionary rulers of South Vietnam and that the latter have assured the Catholics that complete freedom of faith is the new Government's policy.

Already the Christians of North Vietnam have learnt to work together to build socialism. They have suffered together under the heavy bombardment by the Americans. The Government in Hanoi permitted an archbishop to represent North Vietnam in the Synod of Bishops last October in Rome. Perhaps these are signs of a new approach of a deeper reconciliation. These are exceptional attitudes in the history of the Church. The whole Christian world can learn much from a deep reflection on these events and orientations.

INSIDE SAIGON: EYE-WITNESS REPORT

PAUL QUINN-JUDGE

Events after the takeover

In early May, a few days after the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) takeover, I was walking past our local market in Saigon when I heard my name called out. I looked around and recognized a Buddhist nun friend. Dressed in her gray robes, she was standing beside a Saigon police jeep, now decked out in the blue and yellow Provisional Revolutionary Government flag, and with a long banner reading "Movement of Progressive Buddhists" draped along the side. Although it was not unusual to see her in the proximity of a police jeep, it was the first time I had encountered her in legal possession of one. The last time I had seen her, she was being driven away in the back of a police truck after the special police, as they were euphemistically called, had crushed a small Buddhist demonstration demanding the release of some recently-arrested high school students. She was now driving around the city with a group of militant young monks and nuns, calling on the people

PAUL QUINN-JUDGE, *a journalist, was one of six American Friends Service Committee team members who remained in Saigon for three months after the fall of the Thieu regime.*

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to cooperate actively with the new government, and distributing copies of the PRG's "Policy with regard to newly liberated zones." She grinned happily. "Things have certainly changed, haven't they?"

As the Saigon regime crumbled, leaders of the "third force"—as the loose coalition of Buddhist and Catholic organizations in opposition to Thieu was normally called —began to talk more freely about their secret contacts with the National Liberation Front prior to the PRG takeover in Saigon. In the months that followed that takeover, conversations I had with third force representatives and NLF cadres formerly active in the underground, revealed a picture of the third force different from any previously drawn. Many foreign observers had portrayed the third force as a neutralist coalition leaning neither towards Communism nor the U.S. From my conversations, however, they merged as a radical nationalist grouping which had frequent contacts with the NLF, and was aware that many NLF cadres were active in third force movements.

For the third force, the last four seasons have been seasons of violent contrast. In the autumn of 1974 they were out in the streets spearheading a series of demonstrations which rocked the Thieu regime, and made it clear once and for all that any government of Saigon depended ultimately, not on the support of the Vietnamese people, but on the U.S. government. Winter brought them swift reverses as police arrested hundreds of rank and file members of the "struggle movement," and sent many of its leaders into hiding in fear for their lives. The regime had gained the upper hand: the opposition press was banned, the militant Buddhist "beggar" nuns were blockaded into their own convent. When the Anti-Hunger Front (one of the more radical third force movements) attempted to hand out food to the poor, the police moved to slash car tires and threaten would-be recipients of the rice with arrest. Suddenly in mid-spring when it seemed that Thieu was safely ensconced in office for the foreseeable future, provincial capital Ban He Thuot fell. Kontum and Pleiku were evacuated, and the Saigon regime began to fold so fast that the Communists complained that they had difficulty keeping up the pace. Thieu hesitated, procrastinated, but finally handed over power—to his vice-president Huong, an obstinate, blinkered old man who seemed prepared to see Saigon go up in flames rather than sully his own constitutional integrity by retiring in favor of "Big" Minh, the only person the PRG was prepared to negotiate with. Several eerie days passed, senators talked long and loud about "legality," rockets fell on the capital, and it seemed that Saigon's politicians had taken complete leave of reality. As the PRG added Bien Hoa, Saigon's northern neighbor, to its list of liberated provinces, Minh was finally appointed and the third force deputies who had been grooming the General for years found themselves in office, with the ephemeral titles of Minister of Social Welfare, Minister of Information, Director of the National Police.

During the last days of the old regime, distinctions between the more militant of the third force and the NLF urban underground began to fade away. Left-wing Catholic priests had for days been distributing the PRG's policy on newly liberated areas as well as a letter from the Archbishop of Saigon calling on the faithful to stay calm and not be panicked into evacuation. Other groups were collecting medicines in preparation for expected fighting in the city. The radical Committee to Defend Workers' Rights, led by the worker priest Phan Khac Tu was, like the NLF, hunting for the most sought-after commodities of those days—guns and loudspeakers, both vital to assure order should there be a delay in between the collapse of the Saigon government and the arrival of the PRG. NLF cadres later told us that Father Tu had had better luck finding loudspeakers than they, and in fact, lent them a few.

On April 30, at 11:00 a.m., Minh surrendered. Ho Ngoc Nhuan, Ly Qui Chung and other third force figures who had briefly served under Minh and whose insistent appeals to Minh to surrender unconditionally had prevailed over the advice of some of Minh's more conservative advisors, climbed into their cars and drove home. For some of their colleagues in the extra-parliamentary opposition, however, work was just beginning. The NFL surfaced, took over the jeeps and weapons of the Saigon army, and drove round the city, in part to keep order and guide in the arriving troops, but in part simply to celebrate victory. As I drove the streets that day myself, I saw not only armed NLF but also armed third force. Jeeps of the Young Catholic Workers and the Anti-Hunger Front joined the NLF in the impromptu victory parade. A jeep from the Committee to Defend Workers' Rights drove to a now deserted USAID installation and triumphantly planted one of their banners on the front gates —a moment of particularly sweet triumph for the Committee which only weeks before had been championing the cause of the striking USAID guards. At Van Hanh Buddhist university we watched Buddhist monks and hitherto apolitical students work side by side with NLF student cadres at the immense task of disarming and registering the Saigon army and police.

It was during these heady days that the third force leaders and their representatives began to loosen up and talk more openly about their contacts before the PRG takeover. Not all of what they had to say came as a surprise. We had for several months been aware that there were points dotted around the country where visitors to the PRG zones could cross over with comparative ease. At the height of the October demonstrations against Thieu, a young Buddhist monk told us he frequently went to the "other side" in his home province of Ben Tre south of Saigon. A few months later an American journalist and I made our own such trip. The visit, in

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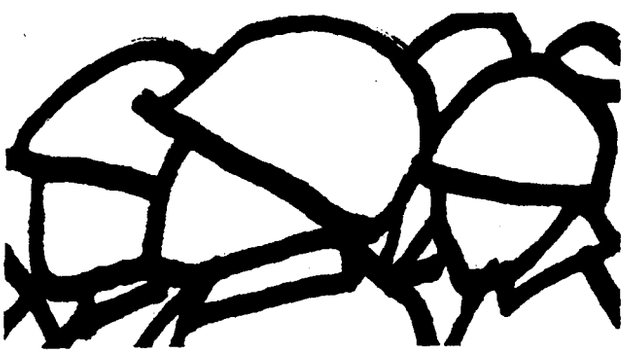
Quang Nam province, central Viet Nam, was arranged for us by the local National Assembly representative, and we were accompanied by a member of the Danang Buddhist "Forces for National Reconcilation." Some 20 miles south of Danang we ate lunch in a pagoda a few yards off Highway 1, Viet Nam's main north-south artery. After lunch the nun in charge of the pagoda invited us to go to the village situated just behind the pagoda to meet "local people who can tell you about living conditions here." The three of us set off, guided by two small schoolgirls. After a few minutes walking we sensed somebody behind us, turned around and saw a few yards behind us a middle-aged NLF cadre and a young guerrilla escort, both wearing white shirts over their military green ones. The cadre bade us a laconic "good afternoon," then led us to meet several more cadres and guerrillas. For the next few hours we sat on the grass within earshot of the ARVN trucks moving along Highway 1 and talked politics. We noticed that our hosts were well in-



formed about Saigon politics, and occasionally quoted statements put out by the small opposition in the National Assembly.

When our talk was over, and we returned to the pagoda, we signed the visitors' book. I noticed that other recent visitors to the pagoda had included a delegation of Saigon opposition newsmen and politicians. Presumably some of them had also made the trip out back. Several weeks after the PRG takeover, a leftist Catholic priest told me about one such trip he had made in mid-1968. He and a U.S.-trained professor who was also active in the radical opposition to Thieu traveled to Ben Luc, southwest of Saigon. Their trip down was uneventful until they reached the village where they were due to meet their contacts. Then an inexperienced young guerrilla fired at a passing helicopter, provoking a full-scale U.S. raid in response. For six hours the two men and their hosts hid underground, water up to their chests, while the G.I.'s moved overhead, looking for "V.C." When the G.I.'s finally left, the two bedraggled and shaken visitors were pulled out of their hiding places to meet their host: Tran Bach Dang, senior Party official for the Saigon Gia Dinh area. The three men talked for several hours, discussing the situation in Saigon, and exchanging views on recent political developments. After this meeting the radical Catholics were in frequent contact, though normally through less adventurous channels. "Sometimes our contact would be an elegant lady who drove up to the church in a chauffeur-driven Mercedes, sometimes it would be a more discreet visitor who dropped by in the middle of afternoon," the priest said smiling.

Contacts between the third force and the NLF were made particularly easy in Saigon by the fact that the leaders of some of the most militant third force movements knew that some of their more active members were in fact NLF cadres. A non-communist member of the Committee to Reform the Prison System told me that the Committee was well aware that members of the Committee were in fact cadres. "We were neither surprised nor shocked," he said, "we were, after all, all working for the same end—peace and independence." NLF cadres were often senior officials of their movements, like Mme. Tran Thi Lan, who was officially Secretary General of the Women's Movement for the Right to Live, and secretly was secretary-general of the NLF women's movement. As for the students, normally considered the backbone of the urban opposition to Thieu, non-NLF leaders seem to have been the exception rather than the rule. Undoubtedly, the strongest and best-organized of the students' movements was the secret NLF Student and Youth Federation, which formed the secret core of any legal students' movements in Saigon's high schools and university faculties. Many of the students working in Buddhist social welfare groups in the Anti-Hunger Front were members of the NLF or of the youth wing of the People's Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of South Viet Nam. One of the most radical of all third force groups, the Committee to Defend Workers' Rights, was in fact formed with PRG support, and many of its members were immediately incorporated into the Liberation Trades Union Federation after the PRG takeover. The former chairman of the Committee, Father Phan Khac Tu, is now deputy chairman of the new Federation. As one friend active in both organizations remarked; "the committee was in many ways the embryo of the Liberation Trades Federation."

"We shall attempt to broaden the Front (NLF) as much as possible, and include as many different viewpoints as possible," said Huynh Tan Phat, one of the leaders of the PRG shortly after the PRG takeover. For many members of the third force, the process of voluntary assimilation into the Front began quickly. A little more than a week after Minh's surrender, a study course was organized for young Buddhist monks and nuns by Buddhists who had long been active in PRG zones. The course was entirely voluntary—indeed, those who were chosen to participate considered this a great honor. Third force publications were quickly authorized by the new Military Management Committee although it had been pre-

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viously announced that only official NLF publications would be allowed during the interim period of military rule in Saigon. The first to appear was the Catholic intellectual monthly, *Face to Face*, which for years had been underground. *Face to Face* was quickly followed by a new Catholic weekly, *Catholic and Nation*. The most interesting of the newly authorized publications was being widely discussed but was not due to appear in Saigon until early August, a week after my departure. This was *Tin Sang*, the most famous of all Saigon opposition papers which had been firebombed and confiscated out of existence in 1972. The new *Tin Sang* was due to reunite three prominent members of the opposition: the two Catholic National Assemblymen, Ngo Cong Duc and Ho Ngoc Nhuam, the former just back from his European exile; and the Buddhist Ly Qui Chung.

Third force deputies, too, had their own "reeducation" sessions. But, like the nuns, theirs was not any ordinary reeducation or study session. The atmosphere was relaxed, "more like a seminar," as one participant put it, and the cadre in charge of the week-long course was a senior Party official, Le Duc Xuan, younger brother of Le Duc Tho, and a high-powered intellectual. The combination of informal atmosphere and Le Duc Xuan had its effect: the participants came away from the course enthusiastic about the new regime, and eager to get down to work.

At the end of July, the National Assembly building in downtown Saigon, which had in recent months been restored to its old function of an opera house, reverted temporarily to a more political role. It was decorated in red, yellow and blue banners, and became the site for the NLF Assembly for the Saigon area. Inside the assembly hall delegates from the "patriotic bourgeoisie" rubbed shoulders with student leaders, guerrilla fighters and even a "patriotic (ARVN) officer" in the person of Nguyen Huu Hanh, deputy commander-in-chief of the Saigon armed forces at the moment of surrender. More importantly, the Assembly marked the election of several of the most prominent third force leaders to the NLF. Madam Ngo Ba Thanh, Buddhist nun Huynh Lien, Catholic deputy Nhuan, Catholic priest Truong Ba Can, Buddhist lay person Vo Dinh Cuong, all were elected to positions on the Central Committee of the Front. For some of them, one imagines, this is a prelude to a position in the new civilian government, which is expected to replace the Military Management Committee within the next few months.

Does the extent of NLF third force contacts before April 30 and the ease with which they were assimilated afterwards mean that the "third force" opponents of Thieu were nothing more than pawns of the PRG? Though such an explanation would undoubtedly come easily to the lips of many Americans—including those who so enthusiastically prosecuted the war in Viet Nam for so many years—this does not seem to be the case. Though the radical Catholics and others were in contact with the NLF, they were not subordinate to the Front. They kept their own counsel and made their own decisions. "The NLF never tried to give us any instructions or offer any suggestions," said one third force representative, "and we wouldn't have taken any notice of them if they had." The NLF-third force cooperation points rather to a fact that the U.S. government preferred to ignore for many years: the broad appeal that the National Liberation Front had for non-communist nationalists. The third segment looked favorably upon the NLF simply because they felt they were in the end working for the same thing.

Others who might have preferred another course than that offered them by the NLF were forced to watch as corruption and brutality of the Saigon government destroyed any hopes they had of putting that course into practice. Tran Ngoc Lieng, a moderate force leader and himself a "drop-out" from the Saigon government predicted in 1974 that 1975 would be the last year in which the non-PRG opposition would have any hope of playing an independent part in the future of South Viet Nam. "The greed and brutality of the regime is forcing people to choose between the PRG and Thieu—they are choosing the PRG." His words were echoed this year by Duong Van Ba, a former deputy who had been in hiding in Saigon for the past few years: "All the good people are going to the other side," he remarked, "and they're right."

For the average anonymous opponent of Thieu and U.S. involvement, the student or teacher who did not have the relative immunity offered by a religious order or an international reputation, the NLF provided a far more effective means of pursuing the struggle. In 1971, a young journalist and translator then, in his own words, "ardently third force" was arrested. Although paralyzed from the waist down by childhood polio, he was interrogated, tortured and imprisoned. His crime: translating material published by the American peace movement. He emerged from prison convinced that the organizational discipline of the NLF offered "the only successful way of struggling for the freedom and independence of Viet Nam." As we left Viet Nam in late July of this year, our friend was preparing to join the Party.

APPEALS FOR LITERATURE

Dennis C. Duarte, S.D.B., Don Bosco, Maturga, Bombay 4000019, India, and Cajetan Lobo, S.D.B., Rector of Don Bosco Minor Seminary, Lonavla 410401, Poona, India, will be grateful to *Commonweal* readers who send them used Catholic periodicals and religious books. Mary Conway, 14 Castle St., Cork, Ireland, is offering to give anyone who sends her a self-addressed envelope for the purpose addresses of Missionary Priests and Nuns she knows of who need Catholic Literature.

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NYERERE VS. AMIN

JOSEPH P. CARNEY

Taking a stand against governmental brutality

President Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania has long been noted for his abhorrence and condemnation of racialism and colonialism in Southern Africa. Tanzania's recent censure of both the Ugandan government under the leadership of General Idi Amin Dada Salongo for its periodic massacres of its people, as well as the unique silence of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) about these atrocities perpetrated in an independent African country, has reconfirmed for many Africans and African observers Nyerere's position as one of the most courageous and judicious statesmen on the African continent.

The twelfth annual summit meeting of the OAU in Kampala, Uganda, during the first week of August accomplished some notable achievements of a conciliatory nature in African affairs. Militant Arab members such as Algeria's Houari Boumedienne, Libya's Muammar Kaddafi and Egypt's Anwar Sadat, along with the unofficial observers Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, called for a united OAU front on the immediate suspension of Israel from the United Nations. Yet the total membership voted for the staid continuation of pressure on Israel to observe the UN resolutions on a planned withdrawal from occupied Arab lands. The OAU membership also decided to continue further peaceful negotiations with Ian Smith's regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) for the independence of that country, and to prepare for full-scale guerrilla warfare from the independent bases of Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia, if the European leaders of the Rhodesia Front government do not negotiate in good faith concerning the freedom of 5,000,000 African people. It delegated a committee of conciliation to troubled Angola, which is embroiled in a three-faceted tribal and political civil war on the eve of its independence from Portugal this November. Finally the OAU also admitted several new members to its ranks—Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe and the Comoro Islands.

However, the most significant event at the recent OAU summit was judged by many delegates to be the failure of numerous heads of state to attend the meeting. Only nineteen of the forty-six heads of state in Africa attended all or part of the summit. Twenty-four leaders of various governments sent delegates to represent them. Three nations in particular, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana, previously announced they were boycotting the conference to protest General Amin's presiding as the chairman of the OAU for the coming year, despite his well-known persecution and slaughter of thousands in his homeland of Uganda in the past four years.

Undoubtedly many statesmen did not want to be identified with these massacres or Amin's penchant for notoriety whether it be his awarding himself the rank of Field Marshal for the occasion of the OAU meeting, his fulsome praise for Adolf Hitler as a statesman, or demanding a letter of apology from Great Britain's Queen Elizabeth before he would consider commuting the death sentence of British author Denis Hills, who made the mistake of comparing Amin to a "village tyrant" in print, (even though the book has yet to be published). Other African leaders were legitimately concerned about social and political unrest in their own countries, as was borne witness by the overthrow of Nigeria's Head of State, Major General Yakubu Gowan, while he was attending the OAU summit in Kampala. The swift departures of the Congo's Marien Ngouabi, Niger's Seyni Kountche, Gabon's Omar Bongo and the Cameroon's Ahmadou Ahidjo soon followed.

Yet much of the unrest and criticism of Amin and the OAU meeting was galvanized by President Nyerere's and the Tanzanian government's lengthy and strongly-worded statement explaining the reasons for Tanzania's non-attendance at the Kampala meeting. Developing the theme that the OAU's acceptance of hospitality of General Amin and the present Ugandan government was tantamount to acquiescing in crimes against the Ugandan people, the Tanzanian statement warned that Africa was in danger of becoming unique in its refusal to protest against the crimes committed against Africans, when such actions were accomplished by African leaders in independent nations.

The hand of Julius Nyerere, who is noted for his integrity and wisdom, (see the collected works of his major speeches and writings since 1952 in *Freedom and Unity*, [1966]; *Freedom and Socialism*, [1968]; and *Freedom and Development*, [1973]; Oxford University Press) can be traced in the drafting of the Tanzanian government statement. Citing the tragic events of the Sharpesville Massacre of 67 people in South Africa in

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1961, the Portuguese Massacre of 245 people at Wiruyamu, Mozambique, 1972 and the present practice of "villagezation" and total war against the people in Rhodesia within the general repressive policy of apartheid, racialism and colonialism in Southern Africa, the Tanzanian government praised the record of the OAU since its founding in 1963 for articulating and taking effective action against injustice. However, it was precisely at this juncture of maintaining credibility in condemning the injustices of colonial Southern Africa that the Tanzanian government was afraid that the silence of the OAU about the massacres in Amin's Uganda would completely discredit any statements by African leaders about Southern Africa. Not only would they no longer be able to speak with authenticity about Southern Africa, but the Tanzanian government believed that the OAU would face the charge of being labeled an organization of hypocrites, if it did not bear witness to the brutality of Amin's government. The statement reads in part:

> We are convinced the OAU will deserve the condemnation of the world and the peoples of Africa as an organization of hypocrites, if it acquiesces, or appears to acquiesce, in the murders and massacres which have been perpetrated by the present Ugandan government. For these murders and massacres have not been a temporary aberration; they are its style and means of existence. This is the style of government of every fascist regime in the world. Tanzania cannot accept the mockery of condemning colonialism, apartheid and fascism in the headquarters of a murderer, an oppressor, a black fascist and a self-confessed admirer of fascism.

General Amin seized power in an overthrow of the Milton Obote government in 1971. Recently the International Commission of Jurists published a 63-page report of offenses against human rights in Uganda, with some horrifying details of the persecution and murder of individuals and total local communities within this African State. A low estimate is that 50,000 people, who were considered "enemies" of the regime, have been murdered and another 50,000 have been forced into exile. A relative of Amin, who was Ugandan's Foreign Minister from 1971-72 and then sought exile himself, estimated that 80,000-90,000 people have died at the hands of Amin's government.

Not only Ugandans themselves, but several Kenyans and Tanzanians have been known to "disappear" in Uganda. Employes and job-seekers in the East African Community (EAC) have simply "vanished" while in Kampala. In July 1974 a leading Kenyan businessman of the EAC, Kung'u Karumba, attended a conference in Kampala and has not been seen since. In February 1973, there were reports of other Kenyan "disappearances," among them, Okech Amara, an EAC railway official who was later found murdered. Kenyan newspapers protested that such murders were threatening the very life of the EAC. Amin then banned the newspapers and threatened to expel all Kenyans living in Uganda because they were spreading rumors of "unrest." Seven Tanzanian youth, who were in Kampala for job interviews with the EAC Post and Telecommunications Centre, also "disappeared." Amin at first denied that the Tanzanians were even in Kampala, but later accepted responsibility for their "disappearance" and promised compensation for their families.

The Tanzanian censure of Uganda and the OAU maintained that when people of international organizations with commitments to human justice try to discuss with African leaders clearly documented outrages against humanity, it is often the tragic lot of the African statesmen to sit in awkward silence, if the case involves an African State acting against African people. It read:

> When such information is submitted to international meetings by agencies of affiliates of the United Nations, we endeavor to exclude the item from the agenda. When independent agencies publish their findings about mass murder or blatant inhumanity we rush to condemn, if the accused government, in our eyes, is imperialist; we ignore the report if it

> produces twice as much evidence against an independent African government. Sometimes we even attack as imperialists those who hold up to public scrutiny the immoral actions of Africans in a position of authority in Africa. Yet we know that many of the allegations which have been made about the inhuman oppression within independent Africa are true. These crimes against African people have been exploited by the enemies of African freedom for their own purposes; but the crimes were there to be exploited. Few responsible Africans deny these facts among themselves. The evidence is too strong; the cases have been too numerous.

The manifesto of the reasons for Tanzania's non-attendance at the OAU meeting in Kampala indicated that it was morally damaging enough for African leaders not to protest African crimes against African people, but now it seemed that African statesmen would give an aura of respectability to one of the most murderous administrations in Africa by their presence at the conference. It bluntly stated that: "For this meeting will

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be assumed to have thrown the mantle of OAU approval over what has been done, and what is still to be done, by General Amin and his henchmen against the people of Uganda."

While only nineteen heads of state attended the OAU in Kampala in person, forty-three African nations did send some type of representation. President Nyerere deliberately delayed the publication of Tanzania's refusal to attend to the last week before the conference, so that his decision would not be seen as an effort to persuade other nations not to attend. In reality, only Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania, much for the same reasons, did not attend the OAU.

With an M.A. in Philosophy from the University of Edinburgh and a keen devotion to the social and economic development of Tanzania and all Africa, Nyerere has long been honored with the title of *Mwalimu*, or Teacher, by his fellow Tanzanians. It is with a teacher's insight and wisdom that he acknowledges the necessity of a non-interference clause in the charter of the OAU, and similar organizations, such as the United Nations. A solemn agreement not to interfere in the internal affairs of another nation is seen as a *sine qua non* for the survival of such an organization of common States. However, the Tanzanian statement manifested the license of a *Mwalimu*, when it raised a number of Socratic questions about using the non-interference clause to justify silence in light of Amin's massacres.

> But why is it good for States to condemn apartheid, and bad for them to condemn massacres which are committed by the independent African governments? Why is it legitimate to call for the isolation of South Africa because of its oppression, but illegitimate to refuse to cooperate with a country like Uganda where the government survives because of the ruthlessness with which it kills suspected critics?

Assuring the African delegates that Tanzania is fully committed to the cause of African unity and the OAU as a viable institution, the statement cited that Tanzania was up to date on all its subscriptions to the OAU and the Liberation Committee and that Nyerere had himself attended seven of the past eleven OAU meetings. But in the long run, the Tanzanian government believed that its presence in Kampala would be a betrayal of the principles of human justice, equality and dignity. The Ugandan affair was seen in the light of ultimate principles of integrity and justice.

> The first betrayal is because you are saying that it does not matter if these principles of humanity are ignored, and thousands of people murdered, provided it is done in an African independent State. The second betrayal is because by that attitude you are undermining the validity of Africa's demand that justice, equality and dignity should prevail in South-Africa, and wherever people of African descent are discriminated against on the grounds of color.

Over the past fourteen years since Tanganyika's independence (Tanganyika merged with Zanzibar in 1964 to form the Republic of Tanzania) in 1961, President Nyerere and the Tanzanian government have accomplished much in acting as a catalyst to enlighten and direct African and world opinion about injustice and oppression in Southern Africa. One recalls that immediately upon independence, Nyerere led his nation into breaking diplomatic and economic relations with Portugal because of its racial policy of oppression in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. In the same year the Tanganyikan government decided to boycott all trade with South Africa and to stop a very profitable migrant labor policy because of its general policy of apartheid and racialism. Tanzania has consistently supported the liberation movements of Southern Africa, both with financial resources through the Liberation Committee of the OAU; and most importantly at a great risk to itself, it allowed its southern borders to be used as training grounds and staging area for the liberation military forces entering Mozambique and Rhodesia. This decision not only ran the risk of military threats to Tanzania, but had a total impact of Western financial and political disillusionment with Nyerere's Tanzania. "Tanzania was going Red," was, and still is, a digestible herring for those without gourmet political taste.

In December 1965 the OAU met in Addis Ababa and unanimously passed a resolution calling for all African nations to break diplomatic relations with Great Britain, if that nation did not take concrete steps to force the Rhodesian government to adhere to the principle of *No Independence Before Majority Rule* (NIBMAR). In that same month, Nyerere delivered a major address to the Tanzanian national assembly and delineated his charges that Great Britain had not shown serious determination in negotiating with Ian Smith's government to effect majority rule in Rhodesia. The Tanzanian government consequently decided to sever diplomatic relations with England and in the process lost a 7.5 million pound interest-free loan for development.

In 1966, Nyerere wrote a major policy statement for the journal *Foreign Affairs* ("Rhodesia in the Context of Southern Africa," April, 1966), in which he branded the Smith government as openly committed to a policy of racialism by its unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) from Great Britain. He then vowed Tanzania's commitment to the liberation movements and Tanzania's own breaking of diplomatic relations with England for its dereliction of justice in Rhodesia. He called upon all African nations to realize they must support the cause of justice in Southern Africa with specific political actions, or they would not indeed be free and independent nations representing the dignity of all Africans.

At the OAU conference in Rabat, Morocco in 1972, Nyerere again published a major address after the visit of the Pearce Commission to Rhodesia destroyed the

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facade that Smith was trying to promote—namely that a majority of Zimbabweans were willing to negotiate the principle of majority rule over a long period of time. Nyerere called for active enforcement of the United Nations Mandatory Sanctions against Rhodesia, a discrimination against governments and business firms who were breaking the Rhodesian boycott, an extension of the sanctions to the communications field and other exempted areas and more increased aid to the liberation movements. Without a doubt, the pattern of Nyerere's and the Tanzanian government's involvement and contribution to justice in Southern Africa for the past decade and a half reflected integrity, political acumen and serious concern.

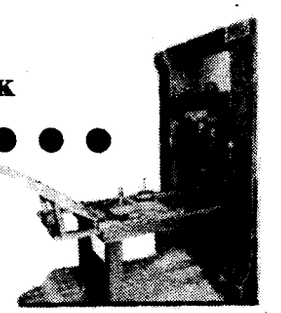
The current crisis demonstrated at the OAU meeting in Kampala, Uganda, is clear enough. Since the early 1960s the OAU has endeavored to bring the world's attention to real injustice and oppression in Southern Africa. It has supported an 'educative program with active guerrilla warfare against the oppressors themselves. In the past year, the walls of Southern Africa are beginning to crumble. Fourteen years of continual warfare in Portugal's colonies, vast expenditures and the loss of thousands of lives, helped to bring down the reactionary Portuguese government of Marcello Catano in April 1974 and led to the turmoil in that nation today. Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front government is surrounded by hostile independent African nations and is presently negotiating with the Zimbabwean leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. N. Sithole and Joshua Nkomo about the eventual independence of Rhodesia —in good faith or not, remains to be seen. South Africa and its illegal ward, Namibia, are embroidering new garments of revisionism toward independent black Africa, all the while waiting to see what happens in Rhodesia in the coming year.

At this critical juncture, Nyerere has charged his fellow African leaders with shouldering the burden of declaring the murders and massacres in Amin's Uganda for what they are—a gross violation of human life and justice. Amin and his government deserve the title "tyrant." The OAU is flirting with the nomenclature, "organization of hypocrites," if its members do not see and proclaim that the murders and oppression of Amin are one and the same brand of crime and life style as the governments of Southern Africa. Three weeks after the Kampala OAU meeting, the various leaders of Africa, not to mention the OAU itself, have not yet made an official statement about the stinging criticism of Tanzania. The world press and media have neglected it also, but this is a par for its coverage of Tanzania. In 1952 while still a graduate student at the University of Edinburgh, Julius Nyerere wrote a paper on the race problem in East Africa. Twenty-three years ago he said:

> A world seething with hatred is an intolerable place to live in. But we cannot reach the goal (of social harmony) by hypocrisy or wishful thinking. We can only do it by honest thinking, honest talking and honest living . . . . And I appeal to my fellow Africans to take the initiative in this building up of a really harmonious society. The Europeans have had the initiative and all the opportunities for two hundred years and everywhere they have succeeded in producing interracial chaos. We have a great chance in East Africa, let us use it well. . . .

Surely honor is with Nyerere. As the peoples of the world fathom the man, they will wait to see how the home lands of Africa speak. The *metanoia* for the European in Southern Africa might be occasioned by the independent African, whose conscience is overwhelmed by the tyranny of Amin's Uganda.

SQUEEZE ON NEW YORK PRESS



The answer to the great, unasked question about New York's fiscal crisis lies within the Municipal Building, that funereal grey block of a building across the street from City Hall. The question is what do all those people in there *do,* and the answer is God only knows. I've been down there a couple of times on different errands and it's like a visit to another country. It seems almost deserted; you can hear a woman in high heels coming from a mile away, an echoing click-click as she approaches down an empty corridor with a piece of paper in her hand. What is on the piece of paper? Where is she taking it? There seems no way to find out short of physical assault. Eventually she opens a door with a number on it and the corridor falls silent until some other door opens and some other woman emerges with a piece of paper in her hand, on an unknown errand. All day long, all over the building, clerks with pieces of paper move up and down the corridors, solitary troopers in the great army of municipal employes.

There are something over 300,000 of them in all, perhaps 310,000, perhaps 320,000; the city doesn't seem to know for sure. Napoleon once said that an army marches on its stomach. Feeding New York's army costs something like $8 billion a year, and it is difficult not to suspect that all those clerks with their pieces of paper are on pointless errands from nowhere to nowhere. The police, firemen, sanitationmen and teachers can be seen to be doing something, at least, but they amount to less than a third of the whole. Are the rest really working? Is the work really necessary? Should

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the city beggar itself, or default on its borrowings, to keep that desultory army in the field?

The spirit sinks at the magnitude of the question and yet the answer to it is at the heart of New York's money troubles, and of the whole question of government in modern times. It took some time for reporters to get a grip on the city's fiscal crisis, to understand how the debts were run up in the first place and why the city ran into trouble even keeping its loans afloat. The *New York Times* publishes the city's budget every year but how many people actually read it? And how many understand what they read? It is hard to see the drama behind the numbers; and most reporters, and their editors, would rather pursue stories with more sex in them, with villains and maybe-heros struggling for money, position and power. Mafia wars, Watergate and even the nursing home scandal were all stories you could get your teeth into. But numbers glaze the reportorial eye. Nixon's tax returns were one thing, the city's surreptitious use of capital funds for current expenses quite another.

Nevertheless, reporters finally untangled the numbers enough to explain the nature of the credit crisis and the city's breathtaking totter between solvency and bankruptcy. I expect that most people who follow the news are now aware the city may default on its loans, that the consequences would be awful, and that the issue will probably be decided within a month or two. Readers know enough, in other words, to follow the city's desperate efforts to get the money it needs to pay its bills, but they still don't really know what the money is *for*.

Suspicions, for the most part, are dark. People wonder whether or not city services are really services. Can governments actually do anything, or do they only pay armies of clerks to fill out forms and file them away?

When Kennedy ran against Nixon back in 1960 the theme of his campaign was that we can do better, the country had been vegetating under a do-nothing Eisenhower, government could do more to get the economy running, to assure the equality of its citizens, to help the poor to fend for themselves. Goldwater's campaign against Johnson posed the issue even more sharply, and Johnson's overwhelming victory in 1964 resulted, in a flood of liberal legislation the following year. The national budget immediately began to grow, of course, but there was a broad consensus—Johnson's favorite word—that the country was getting something for its money. The inevitable army of clerks was created but people believed—I believed, at any rate—that one way and another the clerks were really helping the poor, that the old were getting a better deal, that schools did a better job with Title II education funds, that the rivers might have fish in them again, and so on. All those things seemed worth doing then, and still seem worth doing now. The breakdown of the consensus has not centered on the goals so much as it has on the notion that government can achieve them. A lot of people begin to suspect—I'm not sure if I'm one of them or not—that government programs have a built-in boondoggle factor, an organic tendency to decay into do-nothing clerk-armies drawing salaries and filling the files with useless paper.

This brings us back to New York's fiscal crisis. New York is no bigger than it was 20 years ago but it spends a great deal more money—more, as we now know, than it has. Much of the increase has been in salaries, but after all, clerks must live too. No one likes to pay taxes, but some of the sting is soothed when you believe the laborer is worthy of his hire, that the extension of city services has been to some purpose, that in fact you are a free citizen of the community and not simply the victim of a holdup.

In New York at the moment this belief is hard to maintain. A walk through the South Bronx, which is not advised, makes you wonder if welfare funds are doing anything at all. Watching a subway conductor drink a cup of coffee makes you wonder what he's doing to deserve retirement after twenty years, quite possibly on a pension greater than his normal full pay. Are all those building inspectors inspecting anything besides the opportunity for payoffs? What does the city get in return for umpteen-million dollars a year in police wash-up time? The schools cost a fortune; why can't they teach kids how to read? Why should city clerks get off work at four on summer afternoons, decades after their offices have all been air-conditioned? What are all those clerks, in their militant hundreds of thousands, *doing?* What is the city getting for all the money it doesn't have, which must come in the end from the taxpayers, or from those sad fools who trusted it enough to lend it the money for its underworked, over-fed army?

These are the questions of spleen, and New Yorkers at the moment are sick with spleen. They are difficult to answer, but journalists have not even begun to try. New York's budget has swollen beyond the city's capacity to pay because it tried to do things, to educate the poor at tuition-free universities, to protect people on the streets, to create a school system which provides something more than day-care, to clean the air of sulphur dioxide, to help hordes of no-skill blacks and Puerto Ricans who came to New York just as the industry was leaving, to ease the desperation of old people who could eat or pay the rent with Social Security, but not both. Those efforts, the legacy of a 20-year consensus that government can do things for people, are now threatened. They are threatened most immediately by a lack of money, and by municipal workers who will tell the poor to eat cake before they will surrender their wash-up time, but in the long run they are threatened much more

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seriously by a loss of faith in government effort itself.

A lot of people never believed in such efforts in the first place, of course. They're saying New York has too many luxuries—like free college, and special schools for children who are deaf or blind. They don't like all those we-can-do-better programs and would like to make sure that the baby will be thrown out with the bath. At the moment public feeling—as disgusted as it is badly-informed—is probably on the side of the skeptics. There has been an unseemly scramble for New York's money in the last ten years, and the poor have no doubt been in there elbowing with the rest, but something more than spleen ought to go into a rollback of city programs.

By now two things have become clear. One is that the budget shell-game is up. The other is that a lot of city money is being wasted. The question is, which part? The part which goes to retire bus dispatchers after 20 years, or the part which pays tuition at City College? So far the press has focused on the drama of default: Can the city borrow $400 million in time to pay Friday's bills, or will it go under and leave the courts to decide who gets paid? The larger question of what the money is *for* has been neglected. I can understand why reporters hesitate to take it on; one shrinks from entering the municipal swamp, with its fevers and quicksand. But eventually someone is going to decide what New York can afford, the clerk armies, or the services which really are vital, and if the press and the public don't do it, the accountants will.

THOMAS POWERS

BOOKS

INNOCENCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

ROBERT K. LANDERS

Dear America

KARL HESS

Morrow, $7.95

The Defeat of America: Presidential Power and the National Character

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Simon and Schuster, $7.95

The transformation of Karl Hess from rightist zealot into leftist romantic seems to have begun nearly a decade ago when, not long after the rout of his then-hero, Senator Goldwater, he mounted his new motorcycle and, under, as he assures us, the disapproving gazes of his neighbors, friends and wife, zoomed off "toward that most heretical of questions that can be asked in the middle class, the question of whether one should do things because of the way they feel rather than the way they look."

Prior to this encounter with advanced heresy, Hess would like now to believe, he regulated his conduct according to his estimate of its appearance, "without really caring very much and without thinking very much —a regular Organization Man. But, even as he thus inadvertently reveals the poseur within, he manages to avoid noticing just how exotic a wearer of the Gray Flannel Suit he was; at one point, for example, he gathered into his garage semiautomic rifles and barrels full of the chemical base for napalm, for shipment to the forces of some aspiring Cuban liberator; presumably on the excuse that, as he once wrote, "It would not be America really if it did not produce men who suddenly tire of palaver and reach for the rifle on the wall, to use themselves or to hand to the underdog who needs it."*

But that, of course, was before his motorcycle ride. Now he does things because they feel good, as when he decided to refuse to pay his federal taxes simply "because I got mad" at the hounds of the IRS; and now he daydreams, not of the rifle on the wall, but of the disappearance of big business, as well as big government, and their replacement by consensual communities of "good neighbors and hard workers," all over this land. Although this happy condition is inexplicably not yet, there is emerging, he reports, "a new alliance in political life" of those who have seen the light, and this new alliance is "moving in a new direction," etcetera.

No virtue is more frequently invoked by Hess, and in none does he seem more deficient, than that of common sense. "Politics," he writes, "is the way you live your life." Believing thus, it is no wonder that he embraces so zealously his meretricious simplicities and shields them so completely from his own scrutiny; without them, he must fear, he would almost cease to be, or, at least, would have to undertake another Great Lurch Forward. It is no wonder, either, that he can write, of his current, and of his former, comrades: "I do not personally know an active, persistent person on the left who is in for the money, the glory, or the personal power. On the right I knew scarcely anyone who was not."

Hess, even Hess transformed, it becomes clear, is an innocent; no less an innocent, in his way, than Alden Pyle, Graham Greene's *Quiet American*, in his. In this respect, of course, Hess is scarcely alone; indeed, as Henry Steele Commager reminds us, we, as a nation, have been convinced of our

* Cited by Murray Kempton in "Karl Hess: Goldwater Finds His Sorensen," *The New Republic*, August 8, 1964.

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innocence and moral superiority from the beginning; and we stubbornly have retained that conviction, despite all the evidence to the contrary which history has so generously adduced.

"Because now, as in the past, we are confident that we represent freedom, law, order, justice and the wave of the future," Commager writes, in a penetrating essay which deepens one's understanding of the historical roots of our delusion," we feel justified in pursuing policies of intervention, subversion and aggression which we have always judged to be reprehensible in others."

Has this now changed? Dare one hope that our tragic misadventure in Vietnam—"innocently" begun; cynically and criminally prolonged—has led us at last to begin to grasp that we are not a vessel of true innocence? Perhaps; but if so, the immediate cause, one judges, will be less Vietnam, for which we undoubtedly would have elaborated ingenious explanations to enable us to preserve our exalted conception of our own virtue, than Watergate, which obliged us, if we were to preserve our precious constitutional heritage, to see ourselves, finally, as others saw us.

"It was the Cold War, the transfer of that war from the foreign to the domestic arena and then the war in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia," Commager discerns, "that led inexorably to the follies, illegalities and immoralities of the Nixon administration." It is the great merit of Commager's essays and statements here collected—most of which, incisive and admirable as they are, may seem now, taken individually, too familiar, as their polemical moments were ticked off only recently—that, when taken together, they make this ghastly sequence vividly apparent and recall to mind Greene's haunting simile: "Innocence is like a dumb leper who has lost his bell, wandering the world, meaning no harm."

If every lesson I have learned in a long political life had to be distilled into a single one, it would be that when the people generally permit positions of power to exist, the people generally and in the long run suffer and become subjects. . . . Life, love, work, and creativity have historically been sacrificed to the demands of power. For loving, working, and creative people to throw off the yoke of power it is necessary to abolish power itself, not merely make the yoke comfortable.—Dear America

We have long known that 'power corrupts'; but we do not think that power corrupts us or can ever corrupt us, because we always wield it for the benefit of mankind. Only a people infatuated with their own moral virtue, their own superiority, their own exemption from the ordinary laws of history and of morality, could so uncritically embrace a double standard of morality as have the American people. Only a people whose traditions of isolation have made them immune to world opinion could be surprised that they have forfeited the respect of much of mankind by their misuse of power throughout the globe.

—The Defeat of America

A History of Judaism

Volume One: From Abraham to Maimonides

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

Volume Two: Europe and the New World

BERNARD MARTIN

Basic Books, $37

DAVID STERN

While the past decade has witnessed the coming-of-age of Judaic studies in the American academic establishment, the crucial question of its subject's identity has still not been resolved: is Judaism a people, civilization, religion, or idea? Not a small irony of Jewish history itself is the fact that, at one time or another, a convincing argument has been made for each definition's claims, but the truth is that Jewish history has contained all these aspects, and more.

As its title suggests, *A History of Judaism* focuses on the spiritual odyssey of the Jewish people and is predicated upon its two authors' conviction that "despite all the changes, there has been no age which has not listened reverently to the divine voice of Sinai, no generation without a gripping tension between the word of God and the palpable realities of the present day." This history is intended primarily for a popular audience and neither promises new ideas nor offers any. What it does provide is a competent and clear account of the major trends of Jewish intellectual history as they have consistently centered upon the development of one major theme: the *halacha*, the corpus of Jewish law. While Silver and Martin do not accept the notion that Judaism or the *halacha* has ever existed as a monolithic, unchanging system, they are able to demonstrate both the different forces which contributed to its formation and the various ways in which Jewish thought subsequent to its crystallization has inevitably revolved about it, in interpretation as well as in protest.

Like any intellectual history, this one suffers to a certain extent from the problem of divorcing idea from the matrix of history. Still, Silver and Martin fare passably well, even if their work as a whole possesses something of a split personality. Although both men collaborated in its planning, Silver wrote the first volume, which extends from the pre-Biblical origins of Israel to the medieval splendor of the Spanish Golden Age, while Martin composed the second volume, which brings the history of Judaism down to its most recent developments following the Yom Kippur War. One only wishes that the two men had collaborated more closely in writing their separate volumes.

Silver's volume is, I think, the more successful one, largely because he is acutely sensitive to the paradoxes which informed the emergence of the Jewish religion and its formation in the *halacha*, and is able to convey them to his audience without diminishing their inherent contradictions. While he under-

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standably concentrates on the mainstream of this development, he also includes valuable chapters on the apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphic literatures of the Hellenistic period and on superstitions and popular lore among medieval Jewry—the underbelly, as it were, of the Jewish intellectual tradition. Silver's presentation is considerably aided as well by his narrative style, which is alternately journalistic and impressionistic yet consistently lively and readable; unfortunately, he occasionally displays an annoying tendency to sprinkle his narrative with jargon borrowed from pop sociology and philosophy—phrases like "open society" and "either/or age"—which mean little, and probably nothing, when applied to ancient and medieval culture.

Martin's volume, in contrast, is more traditional in its approach, more academic in its style, and less successful in capturing the unity and internal dynamism of its subject. Part of Martin's difficulties no doubt stem from his subject: since its acme with Maimonides in the 12th Century, Jewish thought has been both more diffuse and fragmentary. While his discussions of the various religious movements—Kabbalah, Chassidism, and the formation of the Reform, Conservative, and Neo-Orthodox

THE USES OF GOD

JOHN GARVEY

Billy Graham knows exactly what to do about sexual immorality, cheating in business and government, and all sorts of moral problems. During the Vietnam war he was asked why he had not been outspoken about that particular moral problem. His answer was that he was "a New Testament evangelist, not an Old Testament prophet." (It would have been nice if the next day headlines had read, "Millions Convert to Judaism Following Graham Statement.") On other occasions he got all cryptic about the war: it was one of those mysteries of man's depravity, one of those original sin things, and was apparently different in kind from adultery, cheating and all of *those* mysteries of original sin, since Graham's implicit recommendation was that Christians ought to mourn the war while doing everything to carry it on.

Another item: a pleasant young woman tells me that because of a book I've had a hand in publishing (*Buddha and Jesus*, by Carrin Dunne, Templegate, $2.95) I am cooperating in a work of the devil. Her talk works around to taking the Bible literally, and when she pushes Romans 13:1—that's the one about being subject to the government—she doesn't deny that she would have gone along with the Nazi slaughter of the Jews, "because that was prophesied." Quite apart from the loony notion of prophecy here, the point is that she meant it was *all right*, since it was prophesied, and a government did it, all things working to the glory of them that love God.

This sort of thing is lapped up by millions. Hal Lindsey's *Satan is Alive and Well on Planet Earth* and *The Late Great Planet Earth* (both $1.50, from Zondervan) sell millions of copies, offering literalistic interpretations of the apocalypse which frequently and not very surprisingly echo right-wing definitions of what threatens us. The Catholic uses of God are different in style but not in content. Cardinal Spellman playing soldier is a classic case, and not too long ago the *National Catholic Register* headlined "God Approves of Capital Punishment."

It is easy to see how stupid all of this is when the other side had a hand in it, but is it easy for people who baptize the revolution and the politics of the left to see that theirs is a similar idolatry? The idea that revolutionary movements or the social action committees of the churches are idolatrous is uncomfortable: it hits too close to home. There is still another idol in the neutrality which allows social evil to continue, by acting as if the business of being Christian could never intersect with the area Caesar has claimed as his own. The problem is that politics (of the right, left, or middle) has become our idol, and a good deal of the religious publishing which goes on today reinforces one set of idols or another.

There are a couple of counter trends. The writings of William Stringfellow (see especially his fine essay "Christ and the Powers of Death" in *Free in Obedience*, Seabury, $1.45) and Jacques Ellul (*The New Demons*, Seabury, $9.95) have had a good audience, and there is something encouraging about that. Both men have spoken as clearly as it is possible to speak about the stance Christians must take before the world. Compared to their honesty most of what passes for theology or religious writing seems frivolous at best.

There is another voice which should be better known than it is. The Committee of Southern Churchmen is headed by Will D. Campbell and James Y. Holloway (it's an amorphous kind of organization and I suspect Campbell and Holloway would object to the words "headed by," but they *are* the two people most responsible for it), and it has issued a number of books over the past several years which bring the kind of thinking Stringfellow and Ellul have been doing to bear on such issues as racism; work and its function in an idolatrous world; prisons; and our worship of politics. "The goals of the contemporary Church are blasphemous. The reconciliation the Church is seeking to accomplish has already been wrought."

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movements in the last century—are certainly competent, they are never quite as exciting as they should be. Martin would probably have done better if he had been able to organize his themes more closely and vigorously around their relationship to the *halachic* core of the tradition; one wonders, for example, why he does not use or discuss Gershom Scholem's fascinating theses that the Reform movement arose as a product of the dissipated energy of the late Sabbatian rebellion against the rationalist orthodoxy of the *halachic* tradition. His presentation does include an interesting sketch of American Jewry, but many of its facts seem slightly out of place in an intellectual history, and especially in light of the almost total absence of any discussion of the impact of the Holocaust upon contemporary Jewish thought. Similarly, while he provides a useful history of Zionism, Martin's comments on the relationship between the Diaspora and the State of Israel are limited to some curiously preachy, and uncalled-for, warnings that "the leaders of the Jewish State will venture to play the role of God in determining the fate of Diaspora communities only at their and its own peril."

Both volumes of *A History of Juda-*

This is their message: the job of Christians is not to bring the world to God. God has accomplished that reconciliation in Christ. It is up to us first of all to recognize it, then to live the consequences of reconciliation. The message and the service come from being reconciled, not from trying to make it happen. "The Church has tried to effect reconciliation where there already *is* reconciliation, while the only thing that God ever asked of the Church was to live thanksgiving for others, and so express thanksgiving for what he has done for us . . . Thus we talk about the Christian community in apostasy, for we believe that when the Christian community tries to do what God has already done it is living a lie."

Before you dismiss this as simplistic, anarchist, unworldly, too evangelistic, think first of all of the fact that it seems to be Paul's own message about the Church, as spelled out in the epistles; and then look at the people who have been and are involved with the Committee of Southern Churchmen (though it isn't their authority they would want you to notice): among them are the novelist Walker Percy, the writer Julius Lester, and the late Thomas Merton. Some of the people who have written for the Committee's publications are Robert Coles, William Stringfellow, Vine Deloria, John Howard Griffin, Jacques Ellul, Fannie Lou Hamer, and a number of other men and women who have been active in political and social activities ranging from the civil rights and anti-war movements to the Ku Klux Klan. (The latter might surprise you, but the point of the Committee is that reconciliation is for all, and the Klansman suffers from the lack of it as much as any other human being.) They may not all agree with the Committee's vision of things—which is prophetic and so determinedly anti-idol that it will strike some as revolutionary and others as reactionary, depending on where *they're* at—but they all reinforce its work by revealing the dimensions of the problems which have not been answered by the state or by any ideology, because they can't be. What the Committee encourages will look revolutionary to some, to others it will look like dropping out. What the Committee is finally about is the unfashionable work of taking the Word of God seriously, judging the world in its light.

The Committee of Southern Churchmen publishes the fine journal *Katallagete/Be Reconciled*, which is available for a donation of $2.00 to $5.00 from the Committee at P.O. Box 2215, Nashville, Tenn. 37214. *Katallagete* served as the source of books *Introducing Jacques Ellul* (edited by James Y. Holloway, Eerdmans, $2.45), *The Failure and the Hope* (edited by Will D. Campbell and James Y. Holloway, Eerdmans, $3.95), *Up to Our Steeples in Politics* by Campbell and Holloway (Paulist, $1.95), who also edited *Callings* (Paulist, $1.95) and *And the Criminals With Him* (Paulist, $1.25), all of which are available from the publishers.

The last book tells something about the way the Committee does things. It appeared originally as an issue of *Katallagete*, it is about prison, and was written by people (black and white, militants and Klansmen) who have suffered there. As a continuation of the issue the Committee of Southern Churchmen set up a fund which has as its sole aim the service of all prisoners, whether they need something for themselves, for a lawyer, their families, or bus fare for a wife's visit.

What would they have Christians do? "Toward the end of the question and answer period," they write in *Up to Our Steeples in Politics*, "someone usually shrieks: 'Why, you're saying, "*Do* nothing! Do *nothing*!" ' And that is when we know we're coming through. That is when we say: 'Brothers, just nail *that* down. Now you have the message. Do *nothing*. *Be* something.' A friend of ours, Tom Merton, liked to remind us that 'Bonhoeffer himself said it was an "Anglo-Saxon failing" to imagine that the Church was supposed to have a ready answer for every social problem.' Another friend of ours, John Howard Griffin, gave the best interpretation we know of what that good Trappist meant. 'What can we, as Christians, do to help?' is the perennial question that the oppressor demands of his victim. 'Before you do a damned thing,' Tom would comment, 'just *be* what you say you are, a Christian; then no one will have to tell you what to do. You'll know.' "

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ism contain several pages of well-chosen photographs as well as a very useful general bibliography for further reading; the first volume also includes a glossary of Hebrew terms and several appendices describing the major canons of Jewish literature and law. This history will undoubtedly serve an important need in providing a textbook for college survey courses in Jewish intellectual history and an introduction for general readers, but one still hopes for something better.

Social Amnesia

RUSSELL JACOBY

Beacon Press, $8.95

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

Russell Jacoby's brilliant critique is a forceful polemic aimed at restoring the critical dimension to psychoanalysis by taking it seriously *as a theory*. Only in this way, Jacoby argues, is it possible to see the damage done by those neo- and post-Freudian practitioners of "conformist psychology" to the truly radical dimensions of Freudian thought. "This book," Jacoby writes, "is an effort to remember what is perpetually lost under the pressure of society; it bucks the planned obsolescence of thought," a process Jacoby calls "social amnesia."

Social amnesia is a willful forgetting of the past, a repression, in this instance, of those Freudian concepts which, if kept alive, would threaten to break open the carefully circumscribed dimensions of bourgeois thought in which the "positivist schema that neatly severs facts from values, observation from thought," continues to reign in all its smug if tarnished supremacy. By repressing the human and social activities which might make and remake a society, the process of social amnesia serves as a buttress for all those illusions, nurtured by society, that "work to preserve the status quo." Social amnesia is a dogged and shallow insistence that what is past should be forgotten.

Instead of forgetting the past, Jacoby urges, we must first *remember* it and then *transcend* it. We must not, for example, heed President Ford's advice to put Vietnam behind us—"forget it, it's in the past." For all those willful or unwitting participants in social amnesia, "healing up the nation's wounds" is little more than performing a frontal lobotomy on the collective memory. After a time the possibilities for a critical working through, and out of, the recent American past will have succumbed to the pablum of forgetfulness.

Jacoby attributes the social amnesia of Western industrialized societies, in part, to our "unshakable belief in progress," an imperative which pertains in the realm of ideas as well as products. We have been led to believe that "what comes later is necessarily better than what came before." Much of the "stock criticism" of a thinker as difficult and uncompromising as Freud, for example, can often be traced to a need to have him out of the way and done with—then one can "move on" to something *au courant*. And there is a veritable smörgasbord of pop-psych instant cures to choose from: one can scream, interact, transact, weep, touch, and be wired up to machines. Why the long and arduous route to the attainment of self-knowledge when the Maharishi tells me two minutes of TM a day will change my life? Freud, as usual, is out of synch. Most people, obviously, don't want to take a hard, unpitying look at themselves.

But Freud is there. So he is explained away by calling him a "great thinker" or a "genius" unfortunately cramped and confined by the prejudices of his own historic epoch. Or, perhaps, he can be vilified out of existence. As one recent book on the women's movement would have it: "One is tempted to dismiss Freud and his theories as a sick joke." (The scholar who penned these words, by the way, relies exclusively on secondary sources and on the reading of *one excerpt from* a single Freudian paper. This may be a paradigm case of "double amnesia" at work.) If there is any "sick joke" in the whole sorry process, it is the disarticulation of the critical faculties which leads people to feed such mindless sloganeering—a charge from which Jacoby exempts no one, including the women's movement and the left.

Jacoby, a critical theorist indebted to the Frankfurt school whose best known American exponent is Herbert Marcuse, argues convincingly that most important neo-and post-Freudians (including, among others, Fromm, Horney, Thompson, Sullivan, Maslow, Allport and Rogers) lost the critical cutting edge of Freud's theory. When they level attacks on bourgeois, capitalist society for its dehumanization or its alienation, it is with the bite of toothless gums. Freud stated in 1934, with that forthrightness which was his trademark: "Let us make no mistake; this day and age has rejected me and all I had to give." Jacoby illustrates powerfully the terrible truth of Freud's recognition. A rejection of that self-knowledge which necessitates recognition of the deep damage done to the "self" by the socio-economic institutions of capitalist society, found particularly fertile soil in America. Many of Freud's successors set about offering cheap consolation and bargain basement "cures" rather than an honesty painstakingly come by.

"Liberal revisions traded the revolutionary core of psychoanalysis for common sense," Jacoby writes. Jacoby himself refuses to take refuge in the "ruthless pragmatic logic of either/or," a logic which feeds the anti-theoretical bent of American life and thought. Instead he pursues a dialectical logic which eschews reductionisms of any kind—psychologistic as well as economistic. The task of critical theory is not to pour oil over troubled waters but to articulate contradictions and incoherencies quite clearly.

Jacoby's theory of negative psychoanalysis remains true to those key Freudian concepts Freud himself insisted had to be preserved through being *reworked*, not repeated mechanically. These include repression, the unconscious, infantile sexuality, and the Oedipal complex. Jacoby is adamant—and absolutely correct—in his insistence that Freud's subversiveness "is derived from his concepts" and not from any "political statements" he may have

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made. Conformist psychologists, on the other hand, may utter all the showily radical statements they like—their surface audacity cannot disguise the fact that their concepts, the content and core of their work, excludes a critical dimension quite systematically.

In a senseless time common sense becomes the ideology of senselessness, an ideology which reflects but cannot transcend the oppressive and repressive features of everyday life. Within the cloying grip of conformist psychology, in all its guises, the values and norms of society are "traded and exchanged at face value" rather then "examined as the coin of a repressive society." Jacoby, like Freud, refuses to harmonize the unharmonizable, to resolve the contradictory, or to compromise the uncompromisable. His book should be read by all who may have grown weary of half-truths sold as wisdom and comfort sold as cure.

Catholicism Confronts Modernity: A Protestant View

LANGDON GILKEY

Seabury, $8.95

GERARD S. SLOYAN

This book is tightly packed despite its relative brevity. It attempts to outline a Catholic theology for this age, largely doctrinal but with a chapter-long look at political theology. While written by a Protestant, its view is not Protestant in any recognizable sense. It is rather an essay in reformed catholicity, thoroughly sympathetic to the problems and prospects of the Roman Church. The author's view, expressed on many pages after well qualified cautions, is that, "more than Protestantism, Catholicism may be able to bring Christianity alive and well through the turmoil of the modern world."

The early focus of the book is on the nature of the crisis (in modern Catholicism), which the author chooses to date from 1963. A chapter of sixty pages bearing that title is followed by a shorter one on "The Priesthood in the Modern World View." Priesthood is not the only state at issue here since the treatment is concerned with celibate ministries generally. By extension it can be read to refer to the offices of teacher and church worker, married or single, in the Roman communion. Subsequent chapters are more general in scope, although one on symbols and another on sources and tradition in theology say more to churches with an emphasis on matter and history than to those committed to salvation by the preached word and faith alone. The weaknesses of an apolitical theology, eschatological in the manner of Moltmann and Metz, are highlighted against a background provided by the trio of "renegade" Marxists Bloch, Marcuse, and Habermas. Two final chapters deal with a "grammar of assent" in theology (how is the truth in theological understanding known to be true?) and the way God is to be addressed in faith (through sacraments that are words-enlivened

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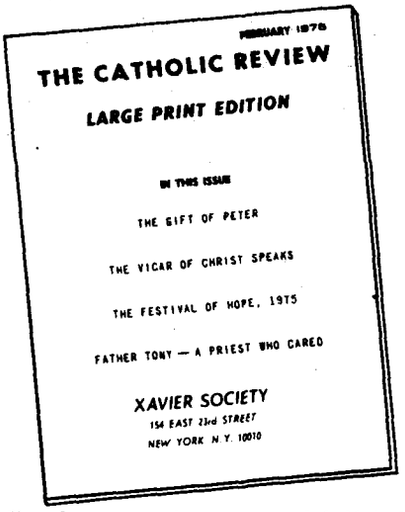

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and authenticated by personal presence). The seven essays of the book make a case for the terms of a good theology but abstain from engaging in one on specific points except by indirection. That is perhaps why the concluding two pages cap the whole work, with their quiet demand for seven sacraments that address stages and tasks in *life* and not in the covenant community only.

Some readers may be expected to appreciate the earlier part of the book more than the latter, finding in it an analysis of the present and immediate past that speaks to their condition. Not all will be up to the author's theorizing or the program that it leads to, in his view. In brief, he defines modernity as secularity, a spirit of inquiry that relies on empirical evidence and historical fact and finds the world and life to be of value in themselves. A false dichotomy between the natural and the supernatural, as well as between philosophy and theology as the means to examine them or the value-doubtful and the value-laden as ways to describe them, has led a generation of Catholics into disillusion and disengagement. They have come to discover lately (within a decade, Professor Gilkey thinks) the attraction of human and earthy realities and autonomous judgments upon their worth. Finding little support in a church of authority, supernature, and heteronomy in religious judgments, many have separated themselves from ministry or church life or faith—elections by no means synonomous—as a way of handling their new discoveries about the actualities of human life. Others remain engaged in the Catholic venture but in an individualist spirit of irrational fideism or secular naturalism that accords ill with the tradition, which is at once rational, religious and corporate.

The University of Chicago theologian (Professor Gilkey's faculty for the past twelve years) proposes a synthesis of the data from everyday life with religious life as Catholic theology's sole way out of the dilemma. There cannot be a reliance on elevators, psychiatric aid, and the sociology of religion with one part of the mind and on the data of revelation, an (unexperienced) superiority of ascetical modes of service, and a teaching office which thinks authoritatively for all, with the other.

> *"If plurality of viewpoint, even on fundamental matters, is built into the historical character of the church, then we can only welcome in the name of the Holy Spirit an alternative view that we do not share. Such a view with which we disagree is, of course, precisely one which we do not think states adequately 'the faith of the church' which is presumably why we do not share it. How else besides the possibility of diversity and disagreement on fundamental matters are creativity and relevance* possible *in a human community of whose perspectives all are partial?"*
> —Catholicism Confronts Modernity

The author does not propose coping with modernity by capitulating to it. He asks only for acknowledgment of the ways in which our thinking and acting are healthily governed by it as a preface to dealing with the symbols by which God mediates himself to us. The book is not a simple-minded plea for "honesty." It is a thoughtful exhortation to Catholics to return to the work of theology on the best terms. That work is the reinterpretation of religious symbols, of which after human life generally the life of the people Israel and the person of Jesus Christ are the chief, with the aid of an ontology suitable for our time. The treatment is hard-headed, not soft. It is unfriendly to eschatologies that defer attention to the present. It is friendly to liturgies rather than preaching as the bearer of the burden of worship and Christian formation.

The book's theory can be faulted in no particular except perhaps in its attention to the problem of a church (Orthodox or Catholic) with a tradition of infallible teaching. The author is clear on what its theologians and pastors must do, namely produce theologies and engage in teaching that trust in the Holy Spirit to guarantee divine truth through their efforts. But what of the central custodians of such teaching who, it may be hoped, will wish to be Catholic on just such a principle as this? This is not a sociological question about a leopard changing its spots but a doctrinal one about a patriarch or a papacy which, *ex hypothesi,* is totally alert to the questions raised by modernity. How does it conduct itself with respect to its own tradition of incapacity to lead astray, which it has traditionally understood as a unique capacity to lead in a right path? Professor Pelikan's recent second volume dealing with Eastern Christendom between 600 and 1700 specifies the development of such a self-consciousness in East and West. It is not easily modified on terms quite other than those on which it came into being.

The Gilkey response may be that a papacy sensitized to the challenge of modernity will simply know how to act in the spirit of his proposal, and contribute its prestigious theology and pastoral care to that sum, the consensus of which defines the Roman Church as Catholic. Or he may hold that it will respond to history as it has so often done before. One wonders.

TV Violence and the Child

DOUGLASS CATER AND STEPHEN STRICKLAND

Russell Sage Foundation, $5.95

"Go Watch TV!"

NAT RUTSTEIN

Sheed and Ward, $6.95

EDWIN DIAMOND

It was in 1970—so long ago and far away—that Jerry Rubin wrote *Do It!*, the Yippie manifesto. "Walter Cronkite is SDS's best organizer," Rubin declared. "Uncle Walter brings out the map of the U.S. with circles around the campuses that blew up today. Every

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kid is out there thinking, 'Wow! I wanna see my campus on that map . . ."

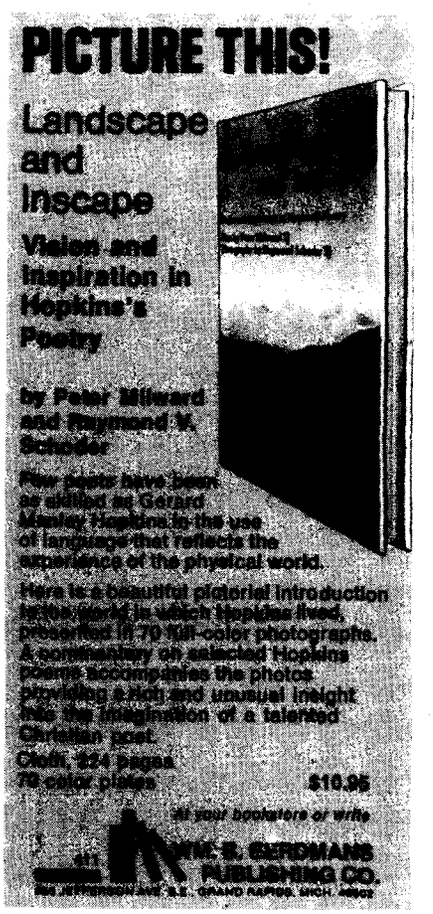
Pure put-on. But Nat Rutstein, a former TV newsman turned educator, appears to swallow it whole. He offers Rubin's words as another horrible example of how watching television affects "impressionable" youth. For their part, Douglass Cater and Stephen Strickland don't deal specifically with Rubin's zany fantasy of television as a commercial for the revolution. They are more concerned with the way the U.S. government organized itself to deal with the enormously complex relationships between television and behavior, in particular violent, youthful behavior. Most of the mayhem that Cater and Strickland discuss, however, is the violence that has been done to TV research. About the same time that Jerry Rubin was running loose on the evening news, Richard Nixon's Surgeon General appointed a "blue ribbon" committee to look into television violence and its effects on children. The study grew like The Blob, eventually taking three years and almost $2 million to complete. The TV industry blackballed some committee scientists and logrolled for others; there was Keystone Kops confusion, interdisciplinary infighting, bureaucratic bumbling and eventually a compromise, written-by-committee Report. The final "document" consisted of five volumes of research papers and a 300-page summary. Readers looked in vain for the bottom line. The best that could be teased out was the conclusion that "for some children, under some conditions, some television is harmful"—which was what Wilbur Schramm and his colleagues had concluded way back in 1961. Critics naturally wanted to know *which* children, under *what* conditions and *what kind* of content.

Still, it is clear that Cater, once a White House assistant to Lyndon Johnson and author of an excellent study of the Washington press *(The Fourth Branch of Government)*, and Strickland, a political science Ph.D., have their hearts in the right place. They believe that television is important in the education—or miseducation—of the nation's youth.

My own experience suggests that this belief rests more on popular mythology than on any scientific or moral reality. First of all, precious little solid research exists about the effects of television. The debate about TV violence and children's behavior has been going on since there was TV—much longer if you connect it to the earlier alarms and excursions about violence in comic books, in movies, in dime novels, in nickelodeons, etc., etc., etc. But, as Cater and Strickland point out, relatively few behavioral scientists have bothered to do any systematic work in the field. Secondly, there is the myth that the young audience is an inert, tranquilized mass being worked over by the hidden persuaders of kidvid programs. Actually, the same kind of skepticism and distrust of television that shows up in polls of adult viewers appears in young viewers, too. Professor Scott Ward, a marketing specialist at the Harvard Business School, has found that there is an important "break point" in the attitudes of children at around age seven or eight. By the second grade, a great many children have begun to develop a certain skepticism about what they see on television. For example, when asked if commercials on television "always tell the truth," most children say "no" or "sometimes." As these children get older, they tune out even more. In short, seeing is *dis*believing (not such a bad attitude, it seems, post-Watergate).

Finally, those who debate the issue of TV violence and children's behavior assume that television does in fact exert "influence." But the images that television broadcasts—violent or positive—are very fleeting. They are so evanescent that they defy serious attempts to measure them. A few seasons back, in 1972, the networks began casting black performers, such as Bill Cosby and the Harlem Globetrotters, in children's television programs—and then waited worriedly for a "backlash" from the white audience. Nothing much happened. In a neatly executed bit of research, Dr. Joseph Klapper of CBS found that the overwhelming majority of the children regarded the Globetrotters as basketball players (81 percent) who act "crazy" and "make you laugh" (61 percent). Only about a fifth of the children ever mentioned that the Globetrotters were black. There wasn't even a "frontlash."

Television is like that. There exist miles of computer print-outs from the television stations' own research showing that no clear straight-line cause-and-effect relations occur. The audience is often inattentive, distracted and skeptical of what it sees and hears. We don't know much about television's effects—still, after twenty-five years. But common sense tells us that the viewers aren't seated in front of the TV, like students in a class, intently taking notes. The industry, of course, is not about to share these print-outs with its critics. For the broadcasters, as Cater and Strickland shrewdly observe, want it both ways; the industry wants to play down the role of televi-



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sion in affecting social behavior—while touting advertisers that TV is the most powerful medium in the history of mankind for shaping *buying* behavior. That, by the way, is television's dirty little secret.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 419)

I would like to see the Catholic press take the leadership and provide the constructive analysis and criticism which the community organizing effort going on today needs. I would like to see this effort be recognized in the religious press for what it is: the creative involvement of Catholic and Protestant parishes in their world.

THEODORE R. SNYDER

Jackson, Miss.

To the Editors: Your "Washington Report" by Sisyphus in the July 18 issue, "A Liberal George Wallace," was timely and excellent, except in one important regard. Indeed what America needs in the coming election year is "a different kind of liberal," unlike aristocratic liberals of the past and present. We need someone who can "speak in shirt-sleeved English" and "tell it as it ought to be—and show the way."

The problem with the article was its insistence that no such candidate is presently in the race. The portrait given fits one announced candidate as if he had posed for it. Fred Harris does speak shirt-sleeved English. His voice sounds like that of a Good Ole Boy; yet he offers constructive and imaginative solutions, not a rehash of the New Deal.

Fred Harris does acknowledge 20 percent of what Wallace is saying but, unlike many aristocratic liberals, Harris leaves no doubt that he is unalterably opposed to Wallace himself. Harris is trying to expose Wallace as the fraud he is, yet do something about the genuine grievances of the Alabaman's followers.

Harris's credentials as a liberal are unassailable. He is trying to build a coalition of blacks, Wallace-supporters, and liberals. A few months ago he visited Mississippi and the reactions of the people who saw him—including a number of rednecks and blacks—indicated that he just might be able to build such a coalition. Surely he is the only candidate with a chance to do so.

One other point. Unlike the other candidates, Fred Harris is not "directed by hired help." His campaign has at the moment only one paid employe. When I had lunch with him, Harris did not slurp his soup, but then you can't have everything.

ROBERT S. MC ELVAINE

Ecumenist Perspectives

Reston, Va.

To the Editors: "From the Juncture of the Reformation" by Carl F. H. Henry [July 4] was one of the poorest articles that you have ever run in your periodical. Dr. Henry told you very little about his honest feelings about the Roman Catholic Church but he did find opportunity to run his usual attack on Protestant ecumenists who have been a threat to him since he began writing. It was amusing to see how easy it is to move from the subject at hand to one's pet peeves. Let's hope future articles are written by persons with a broader perspective on theology and a willingness to at least approach the subject matter.

DOUGLAS T. IBACH

Austin, Texas

To the Editors: Carl F. H. Henry's article, "From the Juncture of the Reformation" [July 4], was well worth the reading at the cost, one has every reason to believe, of no one's good will. The choice of an evangelical theologian to begin this very promising series of responses to the puzzling phenomenon of contemporary Roman Catholicism seems especially appropriate for an American publication.

Mr. Henry's candid response serves both to refute the prediction of preconciliar cynics that no amount of belated accommodation to the demands of the Protestant Reformation would elicit a meaningful response and to confirm our worst fears of what would happen should Peter grow weary too soon of following Our Lord over the frightful waters of the postconciliar period. If the Catholic Church today is no longer seen as a hopelessly calcified nondatum by Protestant observers (especially by those from the Anabaptist or 'evangelical' traditions), to what extent has the "massive crisis of authority" (p. 240) within the Church obscured the genuine achievements of reform and renewal called for by the Council and to such a large extent implemented in Catholic life today? It is a source of deep disappointment to all concerned with Christian unity to think that, just when John XXIII and the Council Fathers had done so much to let the Spirit shine from the very heart of the visible Church, removing the *historical* impediments to recognizing the living Christ at work in the petrine office, new impediments have

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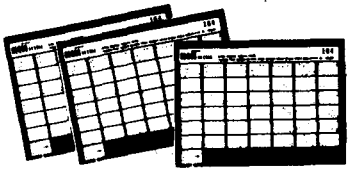

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been erected and a new history. Peter's halting faith is threatening to obscure everything once again.

How very difficult it must be for our alienated brethren to interpret our predicament as anything but "a breakdown in faith" (p. 240)? In the closing words of *The Common Catechism*, "Ecumenism grieves." GUY C. CARTER

Villard Houses

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: On behalf of S.A.V.E. (Society Against Villard's Extinction), I want to thank you for your News & Views item, "Art Loses Again" (Aug. 29), thus bringing national attention to the landmark Villard Houses.

However, I disagree that "there will be a Villard shell, overwhelmed by a turgid New York Palace Hotel" as stated at the end of the editorial. This proposed project is not a *fait accompli* and the tortuous scheme to crouch a 52-or-more-story hotel-office building has been confronted with legal ramifications, as well as mounting adversity. Aside from requiring extremely large variances for more density and tower encroachment, the Archbishopric, Lessor and Harry Helmsley, Lessee are being challenged to produce data to substantiate this scheme which, to date, is not in evidence.

Actually, "it's a shotgun wedding of a New York landmark and New York schlock" in which a divorce appears to be more than just a rumor. It is S.A.V.E.'s conviction that along with the other obstacles, public opinion will save the Villard Houses. It is not entirely impossible that Ms. Bouchard's idea of converting the Villard Houses into a museum of Christian art will become a reality.

Butchering the buildings would leave a desecration that can only be termed esthetic abortion and it is inconceivable that the Archdiocese would be left in peace by Christians, as well as all art-loving people. Msgr. Clark, archdiocesan director of communications, who is "willing to go to any lengths to preserve the Villard Houses" should be made to activate what he has originated. If he doesn't, then his mouth will not be large enough for his foot!

Denmark isn't the only state in which there is something very rotten.

DARCY LEWIS, Chairwoman

REVIEWERS

ROBERT K. LANDERS, a newspaper reporter, has contributed to *Worldview*, *The Nation*, and other journals.

DAVID STERN is a teaching fellow in Comparative Literature at Harvard.

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

FATHER GERARD S. SLOYAN, professor of religion at Temple, is the author of *A Commentary on the New Lectionary* (Paulist-Newman).

EDWIN DIAMOND writes for *New York* magazine.

Steinfels (Cont.)

ner. Nixon was a real professional, but he allowed himself to be carried away with pettiness. Ford is an honest product of Middle America, but whether he is big enough for the job only time will tell. It's a lonely place, the Oval Office."

Obviously this string of disappointments had been almost too much for Allpufft; but knowing that my own duties would require an insight into the future, I brought up 1976.

"The Democrats have a very good chance," surmised Allpufft, "but remember, young man"—he looked at me shrewdly—"you can't beat somebody with nobody."

"Well," I said, knitting my own brows, "these are certainly unprecedented times in which we are living."

"True enough," replied. Allpufft, "but don't forget that those who neglect the lessons of history are doomed to repeat them."

"I couldn't agree more," I said, "Why even ancient institutions like the Church of Rome are showing the marks of change."

Allpufft looked grave. "Y(know, runaway technology has crea: i many of our problems, but we cani ot hope to solve them without more tec' iology."

"That's a paradox," I sai' admiringly.

"Don't worry, my boy," declared Allpufft. "You'll do fine, ; st fine." He clasped my hand, unknit his brows; and I went away, my spirit elated, my heart filled with confidence.

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